

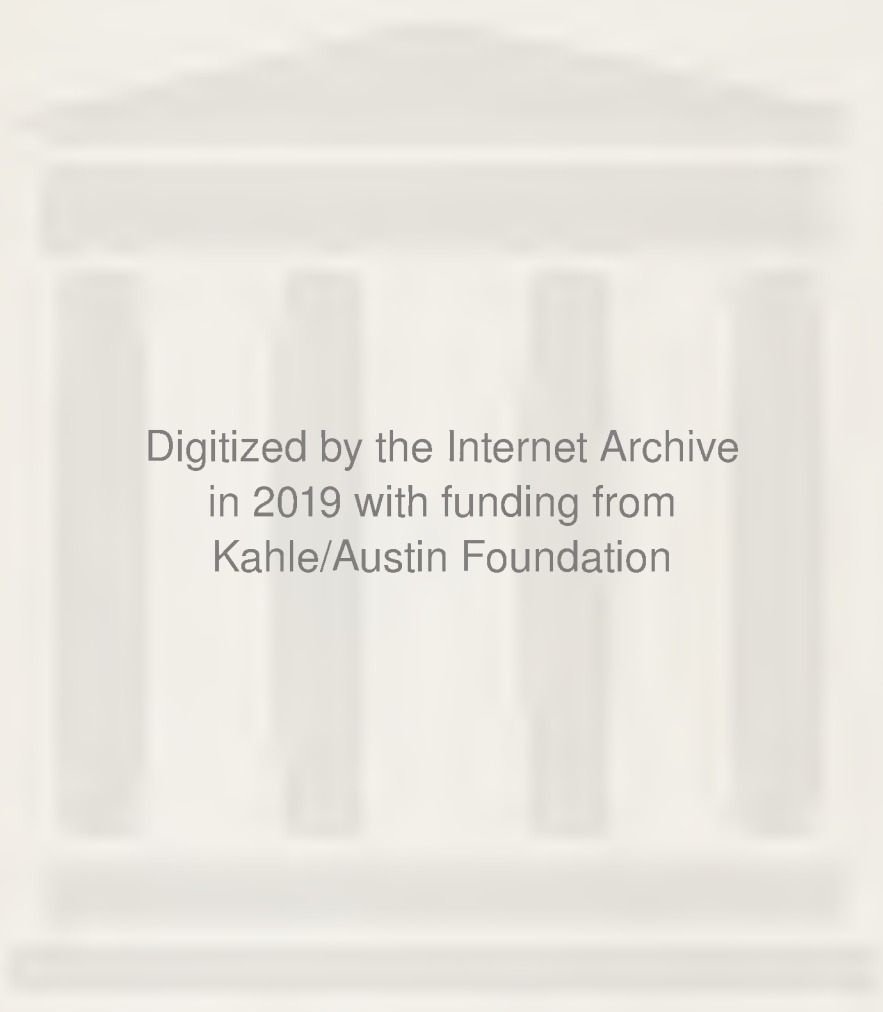


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HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

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REPORT

ON THE

MANUSCRIPTS

OF HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G.,

PRESERVED AT

WELBECK ABBEY..

VOL. IX.



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This volume has been edited and indexed on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners by MR. R. F. ISAACSON. Many of the abstracts and transcripts printed in it were prepared under the direction of the late MR. J. J. CARTWRIGHT, when he was secretary to the Commission.

— THE —

# PORTLAND MANUSCRIPTS.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The documents ealendared in this Volume eomprise (i) a Letter Book of Sir John Holles ; (ii) Letters from Copenhagen ; (iii) Letters from the Hague and Utreetht ; and (iv) a Protest of William Kidd, who was hanged on May 23, 1801, for piracy and some petitions.

(i) Sir John Holles, of Haughton, eo. Nottingham, son of Denzill Holles, of Irby, eo. Lincoln, and Eleanor daughter of Edmund, Baron Sheffield, grandfather of the Edmund, Baron Sheffield oecurring in these pages, was M.P. for the county of Nottingham from 1604 to 1611, and from 1614 to 1616 when he was created Baron Haughton of Haughton. In 1624 he was advaneed to be earl of Clare, a title which some six years before had been refused to Lord Rieh, Earl of Warwiek, on the ground that “ as the title had ever been conferred on a Princee “ of the Blood Royal, it could not well suit with a family in a “ manner upstart.” In regard to this, Holles writes to the Bishop of Lineoln “ my patent is now passed for the earldom of “ Clare, the title wherein my lord of Warwiek was so emboged, “ but what is it that a powerful favourite [Robert Carr, Earl “ of Somerset] eannot do.” For these two honours he is said to have paid the favourite 10,000*l.* and 5,000*l.* respectively. In 1610 he was appointed Comptroller of the Household of the King’s eldest son Henry on the creation of the latter to be

Prince of Wales, but the death of that Prince on 6 November, 1612, “ a jewel whom God and nature only shewed to the world  
 “ and drew in again, we being unworthy to possess him ” (*p.*9) shattered all his hopes and he retired into the country away from the court, although, as his letters shew, he was still ambitious of preferment. Appreciations of the Prince will be found in letters on *pp.* 8-11, 14, 28, 33-40. In one of these letters, *p.* 35 to Sir Robert Mansfield, Holles draws this moral, “ unthankfulness for His blessings and our great deliverance  
 “ the fifth of November hath brought on us this lamentable  
 “ sixth of November and will a seventh, unless a true, hearty  
 “ repentance expiate and dissolve this thiek cloud of our sins  
 “ and turn away the vessels of His heavenly wrath.”

It would seem that this Letter Book consisting of letters and other memoranda, of which Holles was desirous that a record should be kept, ranging in date from 1597 to 1616, was drawn up on his creation as Baron Haughton. The documents are not arranged in order of date. At first there seems to be some attempt to arrange them according to the subjects dealt with in the letters, but later there seems to be no attempt at arrangement, for example, the letter to Lord Willoughby on *p.* 116 is an answer to the latter's letter on *p.* 149. From the heading of the letter to Lord Burghley on *p.* 7 and other letters and from the observations commencing at the foot of *p.* 94, it would appear that the book was compiled by Holles's eldest son John, presumably under his father's direction. With reference to the first mentioned letter it may be observed that the date as given here is manifestly an error. Burghley died on August 4, 1598, and Holles would not be writing to him in January, 1599; it appears elsewhere that the date should be June 25, 1597. Some particulars as to his great grandfather and grandfather will be found in this letter. As to the contents of the Book; on *p.* 2 and again on *pp.* 84 and 88, accounts are given of incidents in Holles's feud with Jervis Markham. The early death of Henry, Prince of Wales, calls forth many mournful letters of appreciation which will be found on *pp.* 8, 11, 14, 28, 33-40. Sketches of proceedings in Parliament are given in letters on *pp.* 11, 27, 110, 113, 121, 132, 140, 158.



On *p.* 29, Holles sends to the Earl of Suffolk a wedding present for the marriage (which had already taken place) of his daughter Lady Frances to Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, after the lady had obtained a divorce from her first husband the Earl of Essex. It is interesting to read on *p.* 31, that at the feast given by the Queen at Somerset House in honour of this marriage the Earl of Essex, stood the whole time by the Queen's side.

On *p.* 94, there is a letter from Holles giving an account of the embassy of the Earl of Hertford to the Archduke in 1605. On this occasion, he was accompanied by his eldest son, a boy between nine and ten years of age, whose own observation of what occurred on the tour is given on *p.* 92. The father's letter displays much ill feeling towards the Earl, "our little man and great bladder," as he calls him (*p.* 95), but contains one interesting reference to his son (*p.* 98). "Myself and Jack  
"received many good testimonies of favour. The Infanta  
"and Archduke so oft as they saw him called him to them  
"making infinitely much of him. Yet his little man escaped  
"not my Lord's displeasure, blaming him that he bowed not  
"low enough when the Archduke spoke to him. The shrewd  
"boy answered that he curchied as low as he could, unless he  
"kneeled, and that he thought only to the King of England."

The letters to and from Sir John Digby, legier ambassador to Spain, contain much of interest.

Holles is described by his biographers as an ambitious and quarrelsome man. That he was ambitious appears in several of these letters, especially those to Sir Thomas Lakes (*p.* 20), and the Earl of Somerset (*p.* 129); while his own account of his feud with Jervis Markham and his plaint in his letter to Digby on *p.* 30 "want of health  
"and store of lawsuits keep in my tops," seem to attest the truth of the latter characteristic. But he was also one who was always ready to help his friends. He is ready to arrange a marriage, when so requested, but occasionally meets with a rebuff, as in the case of his attempt to marry the Lady Dorothy daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon to Lord Willoughby

(*p.* 149); and seems to be always willing to be a “penner” of letters for others (*pp.* 91, 124, 149, 153-155). Perhaps he also penned the anonymous letter “from a woman” to Sir Edward Hoddy (*p.* 126). The most interesting of these letters are those penned for the before mentioned Lady Dorothy whose story as appears from these pages was singularly unfortunate. First the offer of her hand is refused by Lord Willoughby and when she afterwards finds a husband in Sir James Stuart, son of Walter Stuart, Lord Blantyre (*p.* 119), she finds herself before the end of the year a widow by the death of her husband in a duel with Sir William Wharton, fought on 8 November, 1609, at Islington, in which both combatants fell, heavily burdened with debts of her husband (*p.* 154). It may be added that this unfortunate lady, not long afterwards married as his second wife Robert Dillon, Earl of Rosecommon. If, however, there is only an echo in these pages of the aforesaid fatal duel, the account of *pp.* 53 to 56 of the duel between Lord Bruce and Edward Sackvil throws some light on the savage spirit in which these affairs were at times conducted.

(ii.) These letters from Copenhagen, comprised the correspondence of James Vernon (son of James Vernon, Secretary of State of William III.) envoy extraordinary at the Court of Copenhagen from January 1702 to July 1706; Charles Vernon, chaplain at Copenhagen, left by James Vernon, according to Harley’s instructions (*p.* 252), to hold correspondence with England until Mr. Pulteney shall arrive; and Daniel Pulteney, who succeeded as envoy at Copenhagen in March, 1707. The letters commence in November, 1704, and the last is dated in January 1714, but for the most part they relate to the years 1704 to 1707 only.

In 1704 there was war between the King of Sweden and the King of Poland which occasioned much uneasiness at the Danish Court where the growth of Sweden was watched with much anxiety, especially when in 1705 the territory of Dantzic was invaded by Swedish troops (*p.* 192) but no active interference against Sweden resulted. The services rendered by Danish troops to the cause of the Allies are considerable. At the battle

of Blenheim they gained honourable distinction (*p.* 176); and again at the battle of Ramillies they did good service (*p.* 249). A considerable contingent of them was also supplied to the Emperor and served in Italy, although in the case of these the Danes are not altogether satisfied with their treatment (*p.* 180). The condition of the Fleet, however, was far otherwise (*p.* 187). For the rest the correspondence is largely taken up with a dispute between the Administrator of Holstein and Prince Charles of Denmark over the possession of the bishopric of Eutin, or Lubeck, in Holstein, after the death of the Bishop of that place (*p.* 199). Matters proceeded so far that Eutin was occupied by Danish troops to enforce the prince's claim (*p.* 210.) Eventually, however, the decision of the dispute was left to the Queen of England and the States (*p.* 228) and in the end the prince renounced his pretensions, leaving Her Majesty to obtain for him a recompense for his loss (*p.* 256).

Turning to matters of more domestic interest, on *p.* 183, an account is given of a singular incident which occurred shortly before the death of the Countess Virehow, whose relations with the King of Denmark were sufficiently notorious, when for no apparent cause first one candle, and then a second, suddenly went out, awakening in the breast of the King superstitious fears which were not dispelled until the deaths of the Countess and her son which followed explained the portent to his satisfaction.

In letters on *pp.* 193 and 266, complaint is made that Foreign Ministers at the Court of Copenhagen were not always treated with due courtesy. The death of the King's youngest brother Prince William is recorded on *p.* 207.

(iii.) Thomas Wentworth, 3rd Baron Raby, created Earl of Strafford, in September 1711, was envoy to Berlin in 1701, and again from 1703-1711, in which year he was transferred to the Hague as ambassador extraordinary, and with the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal, represented England at the Congress held at Utrecht to arrange the terms of peace. His despatches given here are of a personal and private character, intended for Oxford's information only, as supplementary to his official despatches to the Secretary of State St. John. In respect of

the latter despatches he was accused in the report of a secret committee of Parliament appointed in 1715 to report on the events leading up to the treaty of Utrecht and the House, where, as Addison wrote, "his politics made them laugh as " often as any passages were read in his letters," resolved on an impeachment and delivered the same to the House of Lords; in January 1716 Strafford's answer to the charges was delivered to the latter House and in June the Commons after considering the answer replied that they were ready to prove the charges. But so far as appears, nothing further was done.

Strafford married Anne daughter of Sir Henry Johnson, a lady with a dowry of 60,000*l.*, and on *p.* 372 he writes of his disappointment when his first-born is a daughter and not a son; consoling himself however by his choice of godmother and godfather for his daughter. "As I have taken the liberty " to write to the Queen to be one I must beg your Lordship "to be t'other." His prayer was granted by both the godparents chosen. As these letters were to be considered private, he expresses his judgment on the characters of well known personages with considerable freedom. Thus on *p.* 323 writing in support of Brigadier Cadogan, Quarter Master General, he says "I do believe the greatest part of Lord Marlborough's victories are owing to him." Of Prince Eugene he writes (*p.* 318) "he is "proud, poor, and extravagant: he seems frank but is close "and deceitful, very false and as cunning as his little genius will permit him": although on *p.* 320 he allows that "he is "a good general but no conjurer in politics."

(iv.) This section of the Volume comprises a protest of the notorious Captain William Kidd who was hanged as a pirate on 23 May, 1701, but whose trial cannot be considered to have been conducted in a satisfactory manner, and some petitions notably one (*p.* 408) by Lady Dorothy Burke, "the only protestant of her family" (Clanricard).

R. F. ISAACSON.



THE MANUSCRIPTS  
OF  
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF PORTLAND

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VOL. IX.

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LETTER BOOK OF SIR JOHN HOLLES

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Note of a psalm for reading on each day of the week and of short passages from the New Testament.

Anagrams formed from the names (in Latin) of King James and members of his family.

Index to the letters contained in the Volume.

Epitaph of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

*Memorie sacrum.*

Religione reformatâ, pace fundata, moneta ad suum valorem reducta, Scotia a Gallis liberata, rebellione domestica vindicata, Gallia bellis intestinis precipiti sublevata, Belgia sustentata, Hispanica classe profligata, Hibernia pulsâ Hispanis et perduellibus in pacem receptis pacata, Anglia ditata, et prudentissime anno 45 administrata, Elizabetha regina, virgo, victrix, triumphatrix, piissima, felicissima, placidissima morte, septuagenaria soluta, mortales reliquias dum Christo jubente immortales resurgunt hic deposuit.

TRANSLATION.

Consecrated to everlasting memory.

Having reformed religion, established peace, reduced coin to the just value, delivered Scotland from the French, revenged domesticall rebellion, saved France from headlong ruin by civil war, supported Belgia, overthrown the Spanish invincible navy, expelled the Spaniards out of Ireland and received the Irish into mercy, enriched England by her most prudent government 45 years, Elizabeth a virgin queen most victorious and triumphant in the 70th year of her age in most happy and peaceable manner departed this life leaving here her mortal parts until by the commandment of Christ she arise immortal.

## A SPEECH of HERS to the POLONIAN EMBASSADOR.

Oh! quam decepta fui! Expectavi legationem; tu vero querclam mihi adduxisti. Per literas accepi te esse legatum; inveni vero heraldum. Nunquam in vita mea audivi talem orationem, miror, sane miror, tantam et tam insolitam in publico audaciam, neque possim credere, si rex tuus adesset, quod ipse talia verba protulisset: sin vero tale aliquid tibi fortasse in mandatis commisit (quod quidem valde dubito) eo tribuendum quod cum rex tuus sit juvenis et non tam jure sanguinis quam jure electionis et noviter electus non tam perfecte intelligat rationem tractandi istiusmodi negotia cum aliis princeipibus que vel majores illius nobiscum observarunt vel fortasse observabunt alii qui locum ejus posthac tenebunt.

## Another of HERS to HIM.

Quod ad te attinet: tu mihi videris libros multos perlegisse, libros tamen principum ne attigisse sed prorsus ignorare quid inter reges conveniat nam quod juris nature gentiumque tantopere mentionem facis hoc scito juris nature gentiumque esse ut, cum bellum inter reges intercedit, liceat alteri alterius bellica subsidia undecumque allata intercipere et ne in dampnum suum convertantur precavere, hoc inquam est jus nature et gentium, quod novam cum domo australi commemoras, cui tantum jam fidere velis, non te fugiat ex eadem domo non defuisse qui regi Polonie regnum preripere voluisset. De ceteris vero que non sunt hujus loci et temporis cum plura sunt et singulatim considerata illud expectabis quod ex quibusdam meis consiliariis huic rei designandis intelliges. Interea vero valeas et quiescas.

## A Discourse of Sir JOHN HOLLES about JERVIS MARKHAM.

Upon Monday in the afternoon 6 November, 1598, I going agateward with my Lady Stanhop towards Shelford at Rufford-dam end parted from her and being to untruss a point went down a little hollow way with one of my men leaving my other man and my footman with my horses in the street, and after I had trussed my points and put on my cloak because it rained, I came forth and took my horse returning homeward when as suddenly came galloping to me three of my lady Stanhop's men and a boy of one Bromskell's my servant who told me that Mr. Markham of Dunham was gone before with six or seven men and that he lingered for me for they saw him at the other end of the dam stay, turn his horse; and look back. I demanded how they knew that it was he, saying they might be mistaken. They replied they were not. Nevertheless, said I, go you back: I doubt nothing, none shall go with me but my own servants. Yet they pressed on with me, saying, my company was small which would hearten him to offer me villainy and therefore they would attend me back to my house. I went on my way

and though I rid but my ordinary paece and that it was more than half an hour since his passage by me by which mean, if he had list, he might have been so far set on his journey as keeping my ordinary way home needed not to have overtaken him yet he had so trifled foot paece that I overtook him within half a mile of the place where so long before he passed by me and riding on the outside of Mr. Cartwright neither saying or proffering ought to Mr. Markham he drew his dagger and laid his hand upon his sword. Then I with my rapier undrawn tapped him upon the shoulder with these words, "Nay, light, Markham!" Whereupon he whipped out his rapier and charged me on horseback and though his horse being far better than mine, his being as it seemed a fair great horse and mine a little hobbie, yet after a while he giving way I had leisure to alight so as if he had listed he might have gone away from me; but I standing upon foot he also alighted and hovering betwixt his men of each hand of him they all ran at my body together so that at one instant I had all their points to my seeming under my dagger. And thus being single after many thrusts interchanged with them one of my men (Will Ashton) came and after a while, suspecting by some tokens him to be sore hurt and seeing him so fondly to open to my weapon and being loth (I protest before God) to kill, I gave something back and stumbling in a lime cart rut fell down upon my right side, my back being something held up with the bank of the other side of the way, whereupon he and three others eagerly pursued me, apprehending that unmanly advantage, thrust all at me twice or thrice, which, I thank God, I brake and escaped being only a little prieked in my left knee, then rising and grieved with his villainous disposition, and upon the instant being thrust betwixt my arm and my body, I charged them home and after three thrusts Mr. Markham reeled down saying he was slain. Whereupon I went my way, leaving him there whence he was removed to Rufford Abbey the Earl of Shrewsbury's house, being within a quarter of a mile. And this is the sum of this ill day's work, whereof if every circumstance be in sound and impartial reason considered—our meeting, his carriage in the encounter, his purposed lingering in the way, his weapons drawn before I said or offered ought, it must needs be confessed he was the author of his own ill and seeker of mine; and yet, if it would please the world, to look something back, how some few years past, with libels and proclamations at every market cross in this county, accompanied with pistols and swords and much company to the terror of all the peaceable inhabitants of these towns, Retford, Newark and Nottingham, he defamed me, pouring forth upon me the most horrible venom in manner and matter that ever was disjested in any civil government: and afterwards possessing all places where he came with a perpetual railing against me, although notwithstanding I never deserved the least stroke of his tongue



but in the whole quarrel betwixt us presented him always all gentlemanlike measure in the country, at London, in answering his challenges, in maintaining my own, all which without contradiction will appear, if it shall please any to rove into these distemperatures, if, I say, the world turn eye to these things, flesh and blood would blame me for so coldly attending his disposition and that I should rather have sought him for revenge ; or, being found, to revenge myself by all means I could. Because I hear this Mr. Cartwright for a large legacy of 1000*l.*, as it is said, hath spread most false reports of Mr. Markham's wounding and companies I thought good to particulate that something more, for I had only with me two men and my footman (John Eaton, Will Ashton and an Irish footboy), three of lady Stanhop's men, by accident, and Bromskill's boy (John Stanfelde). Of my men in the encounter Mr. Cartwright held Eaton all the while so as he helped me nothing, and Mr. Cartwright being thus busied could mark nothing : the footman and Bromskill's boy held the horses, myself and four more only were free to fight. His company was himself and two men, Mr. Cartwright and two men, and a brother or kinsman of Mr. Cartwright's, as it is said. And this is the truth of our companies. Touching his wounding, this also may be added that, if I had list, I could have killed him not only through his foolish coming upon my weapon as abovesaid but when he stumbled and fell at my feet. Nevertheless I let him rise without hurt : yet after, it being my chance to fall he acquitted me as aforesaid. As for his hurts, though they be sore, yet though all my men had fought odd and wounded him not . . . *Unfinished.*

The counsel of a father to his son left as a legacy at his death,  
in ten several precepts.

1. When it shall please God to bring thee to man's estate, use great providence and circumspection in the choice of thy wife ; for from thence may spring all thy future good or ill. For the choice of a wife is like to a stratagem in war where a man can err but once. If thy estate be good, match near home and at leisure : if weak and poor, then far off and quickly. Enquire diligently of her disposition and how her parents have been inclined in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever, because a man can buy nothing in the market for gentility without money. Neither choose a base or uncomely creature for that will breed contempt in others and loathing in thee. Make not choice of a dwarf or a fool, for from the one thou mayest beget a race of pigmies, the other will be thy daily disgrace, for it will irk thee to hear her talk and thou shalt find (to thy great grief) that there is nothing so fulsome as is a she fool. Touching the government of thy house, let thy hospitality be moderate according to the measure of thy revenues ; rather plentiful than sparing but not too costly, for I never heard nor



yet knew any man grow poor by keeping an orderly table. But many consume themselves with secret vices and their hospitality must bear the blame. Banish swinish drunkards out of thy house, which is a vice that impairs health, consumes wealth and makes no shew but of beastliness : besides I never heard any commendations ascribed to a drunkard, more than the well bearing of his drink, which is a commendation fitter for a brewer's horse or a drayman than for either a gentleman or serving man. Beware that thou spend not above three of the four parts of thy revenues, nor above one part thereof in thy house, for the other two parts will but defray thy extraordinaries which will always surmount thy ordinaries by much ; for otherwise thou shalt live like a rich beggar in continual want, and the needy man can never live happily nor contented for then every least disaster makes him ready to mortgage or sell and that gentleman that then sells an acre of land loses an ounce of credit for gentility is nothing but ancient riches, so that if the foundation do sink the building must needs consequently fail.

2. Bring thy children up in obedience and learning yet without austerity. Praise them openly, reprehend them secretly, give them good countenance and convenient maintenance according to thy ability, for otherwise thy life will seem their bondage ; and then what portion thou shalt leave them, they may thank death and not thee for it. Marry thy daughters betimes lest they marry themselves. Suffer not thy sons to pass the Alps for they shall learn nothing but pride, blasphemy and atheism ; and if by chance they attain to any broken languages, they will profit them no more than to have one meat served in divers dishes. Neither by my advice shalt thou train them up to wars, for he that sets up his rest to live by that profession can hardly be an honest man or a good Christian, for every war is of itself unjust : the good cause may make it just : besides it is a science no longer in request than use, for soldiers in peace are like chimneys in summer.

3. Live not in the country without corn or cattle about thee for he that must present his hand to his purse for every expense of household may be likened to him that keeps water in a sieve. And for thy provision, lay to buy it at the best hand for there may be a penny saved between buying at thy need or when the market or the seasons do serve fittest for it. Be not willingly attended or served by kinsmen or friends or men intreated to stay, for they will expect much and do little ; neither by such as are amorous, for their heads are commonly intoxicated. Keep rather two too few than one too many : feed them well, and pay them with the most. So mayest thou demand service at their hands and boldly require it.

4. Let thy kindred and allies be welcome unto thy table : grace them with thy countenance, and ever further them in all their honest actions, for by that means thou shalt double the

bond of nature, so as thou shalt find them so many advocates to plead an apology for thee behind thy back ; but seek of those glow worms, I mean parasites and syeophants who will feed and fawn on thee in the summer of thy prosperity but in any adverse storm will shelter thee no more than an arbour in winter.

5. Be sure thou always keep some great man to thy friend but trouble him not for trifles, compliment him often, present him with many yet small gifts and of little charge ; and, if thou hast cause to bestow any great gratuity on him, then let it be some such thing as may be daily in sight ; for otherwise thou shalt live like a hop without a pole, live in obscurity and be made a football for every insulting companion to spurn at.

6. Undertake no suit against a poor man without receeiving of great wrong, for therein thou makest him thy competitor, besides that it is held a base conquest to triumph where there is small resistance to be made. Neither undertake law against any man before thou be fully resolved that thou hast the right on thy side and then spare not for money nor pains : for a cause or two being well followed and obtained may after free thee from suits a great part of thy life.

7. Beware of suretyship for thy best friend, for he that payeth another man's debts seeks his own decay : but, if thou canst not well say him nay, choose rather then to lend that money from thyself upon good bonds (though thou borrow it) : so mayest thou pleasure thy friend and happily seeure thyself. In borrowing of money be evermore preeious of thy word, for he that hath a care to keep day of payment is lord commander many times of another man's goods.

8. Towards thy superiors be humble yet generous, with thy equals familiar yet respektive, towards thy inferiors shew much humility and some familiarity as to bow thy body, stretch forth thine hand, uncover thy head, and such like popular compliments. The first prepares a way to advancement ; the second makes thee known for a man well bred ; the third gains a good report which once gained may easily be kept, for high humilities take such deep root in the mind of the multitude as they are easilier won by unprofitable courtesies than by churlish benefits. Yet do I advise thee not to affect nor to neglect popularity.

9. Trust no man with thy credit or estate for it is a mere folly for a man to enthrall himself to his friend further than if just cause be offered, he should not dare to become thine enemy.

10. Be not scurrilous in conversation nor stoicall in thy jests, the one makes thee unwelcome to all companies, the other pulls on quarrels on thy head and makes thee hated of thy best friend. Jest, when they do savour too much of truth leave a bitterness in the minds of those that are touched, and although I have already pointed all these inclusive yet I think it necessary to leave it there as a caution because I have seen many so prone

to quip and gird as they had rather lose their friend than their jests ; and, if by chance their boiling brain yield a quaint scoff, they will travail to be delivered of it as a woman with child : but I think those nimble apprehensions are but the froth of wit. *Finis.*

My father's letter to the LORD TREASURER of ENGLAND, who was father to the late Earl of Salisbury last Lord Treasurer of England. 1612.

Right Honourable. As it becomes me not, nor any private person, to question so great a Councillor's speeches so in common opinion sorteth it ill with the dignity and gravity of such a personage to defile his judgment seat with passion impertinent, reproaches, misreports and injuries. For the last Star Chamber day your lordship not satisfied to commit me for being absent, to imprison and punish my tenants for erecting some few buildings, according to the general error, contrary to the proclamation, it pleased you also, apprehending that feeble occasion to the end to make me more odious to the world, to lay me open as a most miserable wretch, a covetous cormorant, so unworthy and noisome a member to the commonwealth as unless I were cut off from this present action the success thereof could not be good. Then, having spent your lordship's invective, finding your passion left aground for want of instances and particular confirmation, your lordship digged into my ancestor's graves and pulling him from his three score and ten years rest pronounced him an abominable usurer, a merchant of brown paper, so hateful and contemptible a creature that the players acted him before the king to their great applaud. These hateful imputations and disgraceful history the necessity of my own particulars and piety towards my ancestors enforceth me to answer, with which though your lordship may be more offended than satisfied yet will I say nothing but truth. Touching myself, though your lordship's greatness can easily wrest greater matters, yet such I know my own innocency as I humbly beseech your lordship examine all the courses of my life, search forth my most secret footings and villainies, bring forth my miserable parts and exactions ; let me not be termed but proved a cormorant, a wretch, an unworthy commonwealth's man, so shall the world be sensible that not malice but my deserts sharpened your lordship's tongue against me. Touching my ancestors, I am not so unnatural as not to acknowledge them nor so foolish proud as not to confess them as they were. I will hold myself to their name and, if I cannot prove them gentle, I will not tack myself to another man's pedigree nor usurp other's arms : nevertheless I deny that any of them were merchants of brown paper, neither do I think that any other but your lordship's imagination ever saw or heard them played upon a stage, and that they were such usurers I suppose you will want testimony. My grandfather, that your lordship



nominated to be this hateful person, that he was far otherwise all men's knowledge where he lived will witness, for though he, affecting a private quietness, presenting himself never to the public eye further than his country servies to her Majesty was thereby less known to your lordship, yet he living a poor house-keeper in Nottinghamshire sixty years within two, dying of years near fourscore and ten, was much loved and honoured of his neighbours round about him, and left me the same living his father left him without bettering or alteration: which, though by your lordship's speeches I live covetously and miserably, yet have I not improved, being 'nere hand' all of the old rent and unleased, one bare 100*l.* per annum. My great grandfather was a merchant of the staple in Edward the Fourth's time and Henry VII., and died aged eighty years in Henry the Eighth's time. That he was a merchant in all these ages I can shew his books of accounts. Whenee he was descended shall appear when his birth shall also be depraved, but be it he was a merehant in ye basest kind will your lordship therefore argue me to be contemned which am a fourth descent removed? I am certain in your reading you find many from more base and vile trades, as potters, colliers, shepherds, swineherds, etc., have risen to be great emperors and princes, many other, from innkeepers, butchers, and other mechanical occupations, by their virtues and favour of the time, to be sole governors of great commonwealths: who, if their birth be upbraided them, will answer with Iphicrates and others and peradventure say "Let them who are noble from the beginning reprove other men's unnobleness." For my own part, descending into mine own partieulars, I cannot but grieve at my own harder fortunes, being by these signs and demonstrations assured of your lordship's heavy displeasure against me, well knowing how seasonable it is to your lordship, being the greatest magistrate of this kingdom, to overthrow the estate of a poor gentleman, nevertheless my innocency doth much comfort me; for with an impartial eye having overviewed my deserts to your lordship I can find none meriting your disfavour in any measure but rather your better opinion. Wherefor, if your lordship have conceived ill of me, eall me to my answer, or, if by any malicious enemies your lordship hath been provoked, I humbly beseech you put me to my apology: and so fearing I have been too tedious I cease troubling your lordship. From Sandwich this 23rd of January, 1598. J. Holles.

A Letter of my father's to my LORD G[RAY]. 1613.

My noble Lord. I have long longed for an opportunity to discourse with you; which since our loss of losses (to which an understanding surveyor of the times can hardly add more) I could never before now recover, for what one esteems must be laid up in a safe guard. I love to speak freely and nothing in

my eye more precious than freedom, which I often presume to use with your lordship, for disguisings be as painful as serviee, which, concealing a man from those who deserve not the naked sight of him, by habit and custom make him also a stranger to himself, such be the times and persons with whom we live, it being a vice or unnecessary quality to be religious or virtuous and a virtue to be neither blaek nor white, but as please the painter. It is true my worthy master is no more. A jewel whom God and nature only shewed to the world, and drew in again, we being unworthy to possess him, and with him every man seems to have lost his dearest—some, his wife, his child, his parent, his friend ; to conclude, every man, as the Psalmist saith, goes heavily as though he mourned for mother or brother yet some methinks cry with the Jeroboamites, “Israel to your tents ! We have no part in the son of Ishai.” And these be statists and papists, these say he was well gone for he loved not us ; he loved heretics ; he loved his country ; he loved active spirits ; virtue and understanding, wheresoever he found it, and if he had lived he and his house, with David, would have served the Lord ; he would have whipped both dogs and money-changers forth of the Temple ; so would he have purged his hive of drones and good hand should have purchased good hire. This is the public ill wherein your lordship and I have part ; and this will cause both church and kingdom to weep with Rachel and find no comfort. For good men of all professions were welcome to him. He cherished the true prophets and graced with his attentive devotion and example their ministerial endeavours ; those towards himself he rewarded with benefit and promotions. All men of learning, countryman or stranger, of what virtue soever, military or civil, he countenanced and comforted. He was frugally bountiful, which is true liberality, giving his own not that of others and knowing to whom he gave, not pulled on through *mauvaise honte*, importuned or cosened, but persuaded thereunto by his princely disposition, either charitably or by the party’s deserving. If I should particularise the manifold effects of his great worth which appeared to my short sight, I should present your lordship an extent fitter for a volume than a letter. To conclude all in a word. He was respectfully courteous to all, familiar with those he esteemed honest ; a great, a judicious, and a silent, searcher into dispositions, wise, just, and secret, a curious observer for use of what he read or heard, constant in good things, which virtue he daily confirmed, by being not easily moved in things indifferent, in all things he affected regularity in his chapel, chamber, and household, was seldom angry, never gave foul word nor oath in his life. With ambassadors and strangers, princes, etc., he did *stare sopra di se* and usually received them with that order and majesty as they approached him rather as a king than a prince. This excellently composed inside was accompanied with as well a built outside, an able, graceful,

body never wearied with labour, eminent in all princely exercises on horseback and on foot, a great sufferer of cold and heat, and in all things and to all things so framed as he promised us not only a great ableness but a long-lasting ableness, whereof we being peradventure too assured, as well as unworthy of such a blessing, we depended too much upon the subordinate which caused that jealous God to take him away from us, being determined peradventure to work his will by weaker means or to pull Moses forth of the gap to give his judgments a true passage, who seemed to stand betwixt us and our ruins. For surely the violent death (the times and other circumstances considered) was *un coup du ciel* which, though now appearing only to the quick sighted, will, I fear me, be hereafter represented in so large and manifold characters of our miseries as the blindest both will and must see it; for now such a general security benumbeth us as at home, so there be an outward obedience, *vivitur ad libitum*; and abroad, so we know nothing to hurt us, nothing can hurt us, for far from the eye far from the heart. For our home preservation he held up religion and held in the presumptuous papist, he aired the private ends of the statists and drove them to close gards: the wronged had to whom to speak, for the cat's smell as well as her teeth chaseth away the mice; the industrious spirit was comforted; all actions profitable or honourable for the kingdom were fomented by him, witness the North West passage, Virginia, Guiana, The Newfoundland, etc., to all which he gave his money as well as his good word. So was he forward in all public works which either were of use or ornament to this State: Lambeth Bridge, his intended fabrics at Richmond and St. James's, the Academy, to which he had given his stables, and other helps for the better 'adress' of our youth, can well witness, all which also perished in this storm: and to interpret him further in this particular, besides his entertaining the best engineers and architects of Christendom, let me tell your lordship his love to this nation that many times speech being of the glorious deeds of our ancestors both in military and civil achievements I have heard him confidently assever that there were now as many and as able, worthy, spirits in England as were then, who wanted but good occasions to put them to work to make them thereby as glorious as their forefathers. And as his hopes were to see those fruits, so was he so mindful and pious to the honour of times past, which he scorned to leave buried in the ignorance of merchants' quills and such like, as he stipended Doctor Heyward at 200*l.* per annum to write the universal history of this kingdom; who, as an assay of that great labour, had not many days before his fatal sickness presented him with the four first years of Queen Elizabeth, whose memory and government this worthy prince ever much revered. Neither closed he his eyes from what concerned us abroad but entertained by his purse in sundry places as good intelligence as any we had: a



rare vigilancy in those years commonly cast in dreams, vanities, and impertinences. This prince we lost, this master I lost and this son the king lost, who among the rest of his incomparable virtues in filial duty and observance of his parent gave place to none ; an admirable mixture, who, though striving in all the parts of virtue to be superior to all men, yet subjected himself as inferior in all things which fell either under his sense or understanding to his father's will and pleasure. Worse than swine be they then who not only with lies and slanders endeavor to tear up his body from the quietness of his grave, but seek to defile his sacred memory with designs not compatible with the safety of the King and State, his project being so ere long to trouble the waters that none but himself must be the steersman to keep the ship from sinking, that Absalom like he might with better facility snatch the sceptre out of his father's fist. With this opium they rock the parent asleep to 'drowse' out the sorrow for his lost child, striving to bring in the Alcoran among us, in case the Mass fail, a superstition now too chargeable for this beggarly state. Myself am like a weatherbeaten bark, without mast, sails, and anchor, pulling up and down whither the winds and waves will have me ; yet if I have sea room I shall ride it out the better till the times be more propitious or that providence provide for me by drift some safe harbour. It is true I had only one anchor which is gone ; and, while he was, more were either superfluous or by reason of my tender sides could not without prejudice be carried by me, for I did not neither ever shall I serve two masters, for which my master was pleased to value me at a higher rate than I merited. Therefore I reckon of no other condition than that to which I was born, having reaped no other comfort of my courtship and life hitherto but that I had the honour to serve so worthy a master, with whom I hold it no little glory to suffer. And this shall suffice till the king vouchsafe me his consideration : in the meantime, howsoever, in all fortunes, as a lover of your virtues shall I rest. February 27, 1612/13.

A Letter of my father's to my now LORD BURGHLEY and then Sir WILLIAM CECIL. Written 1604.

Sir. The commodities I send you hence are not worth one letter among many I receive from you, and seeing of those other things you use your judgment permits you not to overbuy any, I must believe that in this estimation you rather relate to what I would than what I do or can ; and, if it shall please you with those favourable spectacles to overview me, you shall find me a willing Œdipus to unriddle the enigmata of this present though what proceeds from me carrieth the habit of Davus. The mart is now very empty and draweth as I conceive to an end I mean the Parliament whereat as that comet of our horizon ourselves and our neighbours gaze, for upon Saturday last conferring with the Lords we received an irreparable defeat

in our enterprise of the wards, they not only disjoining from us in our desire of petition to the king but taxing us (by way of advice as they said) of inconsiderateness of demanding without merit of presumption in asking more of the king than of any his predecessors since or before the Conquest, no not in the Barons' wars ; and some in more vehemency of spirit said that in this, as the principal flower of his garland, and many other particulars, we had endeavoured to deprive the king of his prerogative, that contrary we had offered no gratuity to the king according to the custom of all ages at entrance ; and thereupon *tacite* intimated a consideration of subsidy. We answered to the king's honour and profit, with all due and reverent respect, that from tender feeling of this burden and known experience of the general misery thereupon depending, drawn on with the extinguishment of the cause of the tenure which was the war of Scotland, encouraged with the king's gracious offer and promise before and since the 24th of March 1603, that he would relieve and free us from our greatest grievances, and peradventure *in hoc individuo* hopes given by some of his servants, and lastly our thighs laden with honey not empty fisted, presenting ourselves with a double annual rent to his coffers, a valuable pension to his officers of the court by the overplus whereof to the present receipt a satisfactory consideration was had of such benefit as his Majesty by way of gift or recompence sometime vouehsafed his servants, we had entered into this labyrinth hoping your lordships would have been an Ariadne to us, and now, as we took it seasonably the pace being cleared of such rubbish as in the beginning of the Parliament were by your lordships objected to hinder that then undertaking for the time misspent in matter of purveyance, etc., no blame belonged to our careful debating ; if to the propositions they came from your lordships that were tender of the king's prerogative and as far as any from lopping or infringing the least wire of that imperial 'vert.' To conclude we came not to apologise our doings nor to dispute upon the present business, holding such preparation needless, expecting rather your lordships' affirmative where your interest far exceeded ours than this negative, that therefore, having no authority from the House to solicit your lordships nor importune you further, we would return with what we had heard and thereof make relation. Thus, sir, by struggling we do farther belime ourselves, distaste the king, who judgeth us as the Lords digest us, and in this manner of opposition have they made their profit of us from the first day of this assembly. Sir Francis Coldwins cause I pass over : that which succeeded was the great business of the Union, wherein we put on the one and they the other skin of Lysander, we like countrymen plainly they like statesmen more covertly and with ceremony, whence though proceeded one and the same effect, I mean the adjournment of resolutions till further debate, yet they clad angel like were received into



Abraham's bosom while we fried in the furnace of the king's displeasure. The next was purveyance, which as a grievance considerable and removable their lordships propounded and after many committees, conferences, and weeks abused with needless arguing, we coveting only execution of laws and the abolishment, liberal of our purses, and a present composition of 50,000*l.*, confirmable by Act of Parliament, from which we dissenting the king is incensed as with the opposites of his prerogative, so as they have the sunshine and we the shade, they are the grave and wise aristocraey we the giddy populace. Then to what end strive we, *chi s'offia nel polue se n'empie gli occhi*: a divided kingdom cannot stand, it is bootless to endeavour good for the public when the ablest operators dissavow us and therefore new occasions, new deliberations, for he that seeks to sail by one wind his harbour must be very near or else he shall never reach it, and therefore for the general I conclude *voluisse sat est* but for the present every man for himself for he is unwise that will burn his lips with others porridge. Saturday we presented their lordships as equally injured with the Bishop of Bristol's tansey or invective against them, their judges, and us, and the objections lately made against the Union, with what sufficiency writ you can judge by the book: they acquainted the king herewith, the king avoweth it, and then who dare find fault? Yesterday from Ostend the king had letters which certified that the Marquess Spinola having made a passable breach and plained the rampier with the fosse, entered with great gallantry as assured to end the tedious siege; but, he unknowing, they within had covertly planted ten or sixteen pieces of cannon in the mouth thereof and charged all with small sacks of musket bullets and then murdering shot slew him 1500 men. As for Sluce, Count Maurice hath girded it very straitly, upon the same passage given them another defeat and cut off the convoy of victuals which was coming to the town, so as their magazine provision scanting they put forth of the gates 2,000 slaves, who making towards Bridges and there refused, Count Maurice sent forth some troops of horse who killed and took at their pleasure, and it is firmly believed the town will change his master within few days, whereof I doubt not but our master will make his advantage. Yet this day great preparation is made at the Court for the Duke of Camminburge, whereupon he is feasted with the king and queen and after to be entertained with bull and bear baiting, etc. Yesterday in the Banquetting House the queen received him where she danced and many other fair nymphs; but she never in her life fairer, such virtue hath the court air of England! My lady of Bedford hath been very sick, not yet so reeovered as she cometh abroad. My Lady Riche neither fouler nor fatter, and the rest of the pasture, methinks, rather waste than fill, especially those of the southern breed, J. Holles.

A Letter of my father's to Sir JOHN DIGBY, Ambassador leiger in Spain, sent the 29th of June, 1613, to Madrid, the King of Spain's Court.

Noble Sir John, I enjoy so many pledges of your worth as I may justly style your love to me real in the solidness thereof and personally in that it leaves not me for my fortunes, and though heretofore much able to serve you yet was I not so fortunate as to leave witnesses thereof so as in those times my debts grew; I became bankrupt ere I could clear them. Yet some say remuneration is lodged in a thankful heart and nothing subject to the hand of fortune, always attending and cheerfully apprehending all occasion to discover itself, not in hope to discharge the obligation but with desire to appear to the benefactor worthy thereof; and in this sense it comforts me much to be understood by so worthy a friend who will not forget me though henceforth the useless country swallow me up; for thither, for aught I know, the torrent of my fate carries me, the anchor being gone by which I held, and I bow rather with the reed than break. This prince's house is established as my master's was before the creation: no governor, Sir Robert Cary the same title he had. Rochester hath planted his kinsman Sir Robert Carr gentleman of the Bedchamber and supplanted Sir David Murrey, for whom though the prince interceded earnestly, yet the king refused, alleging he was a puritan, seducing his late master to their schism: not one of my master's grooms is received his, Sir Robert Carey's men have these, and the earvers', eupbearers', and servers' places; which though they might be permitted about a Duke of York yet some think a prince's person should be better attended, for long must these fellows scrape ere they get into clothing suitable the nearness of their service to the Privy Chamber: eight of ours be called and here our nation first appears so little use make we of former experience or so little care of general good and posterity; for though the fathers as counsellors of state may in these first times struggle in some things with the Bedchamber, yet sovereignty better confirmed by the weakness it findeth, their sons will bear the reward of their error and have no ordinary power to repair it. But, methinks, I see a representation of Jerusalem's siege described by Josephus and whilst we be jealous one of another keep this man back because his sufficiencies may prejudice and place that *faineant* who doth no better service than a rotten stake in a hedge by the way. The commonwealth ruins, the name and use of our nation perisheth, others leap into our possessions, and every passenger pulls off our grapes. But let me not abuse my liberty with you by these digressions lest you say my particular makes me only quick-sighted, and yet I am guilty of no crime but that my master loved me, whence proceed many vapours, many constructions, not according to every one's digestion, but according to the phantom some have raised of my master's unquiet ends and

designs : which spirit must walk till turne be served accordingly. Touching treasurer, sceretary, Overbury in the Tower, Mansfield by the heels, the nullity intended, the importunity of Savoy, his presents—lion, tiger, pard, etc., the shuffling in the Irish Parliament about the taking or discarding Davies for speaker, the appeal of both parts to the king now in scrutiny before the Lords, libels and letters, etc. your servant Mr. Digby can inform you. By Mr. Collington I received your noble and friendly letter and he promised to loose some time of conversation with me, which I think at his better leisure he will make good, and I the rather long therefor that I might hear more amply and particularly both of you and from you, to whom no man nor fortune shall refuse me to wish all honour and happiness. And that receive for the while as an earnest of the unfeignedly firm affection and service of your most assuredly to command. J. Holles. From London this St. Peter's Day. 1613.

A piece of a Letter of my father's to my uncle THOMAS HOLLES, when he went to the Low Countries from Gray's Inn, 1605.

I marvel you now send me your last will and testament touching the law, so soon after my coming away, and could not find the leisure to speak your mind while I was present. You have now charged me at Grays Inn these four or five years and entertained me with your will to that study though by others I understood you otherwise inclined : and seeing you purpose other course I will not presume to hinder you. But, without offence, I can moderate my disbursement without indenture, provided that you look to the steward's satisfaction ; if otherwise, you will find loss by the misplacing that payment. You make your scant allowance the scarcrow of your study. That 30*l.* per annum is too short for a mongrel course betwixt a student and a reveller, I confess ; but sufficient for such as intend that business only in such equipage as thereunto belongeth. Others shew it whose endeavours from poor children have made them rich fathers ; and yet I cannot accuse you of outward superfluity, at least to my sight.

The naturalists writ that before the viper shoot herself [*sic*] into the water to join with the lamprey he purgeth and disgorgeth out all his poison upon a flat stone, which work finished he returneth and sucketh up the poison again, without which as it seemeth he cannot subsist or cannot pursue the end to which he was created ; hence may private men extract a document for their direction in public affairs that they ought to put off and lay aside their particular, be it honour, profit, love to themselves or friends, revenge or hatred upon others, so soon as they sit down to the public business wherein having discharged their office and calling, nature commands us to take up our private cares and with industry and diligence advance our ways with the best means we can proper to the mark every one hath proposed to himself. I hope we all meet here thus



purified and have brought all our substance to the Apostle's feet yet, methinks, I hear a sound of some schismatics separating themselves from their fellows through the error of the sons of Zebedeus, of undertakers and undertakings, but who undertake or what is undertaken I know not. I am heartily sorry that any such leprous scabbed sheep should be in this flock, that they have so long been covered from you and that your great affairs of king and kingdom bealmed or rather windbound all this while. But let not our unprofitable, tedious, chace of these phaetons take up all our time; your bread being more proper to the Israelites than to the Canaanites let us proclaim against them and according to the French manner hang out their pictures by our protestation already ordered by this grave house, declare against the thing with such a resentment as that the persons delinquents in their souls and consciences might feel assumptively that punishment which their careasses and fortunes deserve really and actually. To speak of the ugliness of this offence being without example or comparison were to represent the sun by picture which every eye here beholds in his natural figure besides better painters have described it that I purpose not to be Zaino to Appelles. Each day brings sufficient care with him that we need not take from the day past nor preoccupate what is to come in the day following. This business then hath been debated and I doubt not but your best huntsmen have had the beast in chase, every bush hath been beat, and long since you have made a halt. *Quod non progreditur regredi videtur.* It sufficeth you pursue your former resolution that this filth being swept out of the alley we may with more ease and delight handle the subject or the causes of our assembly. Yet must I empty myself coveting rather to heal than to skin over a wound, at the least so to search to the bottom that some Æsculapius may therein infuse his right remedy; and, if I miss, I will not excuse it seeing to endeavour one's best performs a duty which track, if every one take, some man's aid, fortune, industry, or understanding, will start the hare be he never so wily or the thicket never so friendly. In this the thing said to be undertaken divides me into innumerable imaginations, the dangerous consequences whereof confounding understanding altogether, for if these men have undertaken like an Athenian Demades to govern this house, to open at their pleasure *ærarium publicum* provisionally, as the Devil to our Saviour when upon the high mountain he shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, or presumptuously, or howsoever, then sail we betwixt Seylla and Charybdis, being sure to fall into the one of these two inconveniences among a million of others that either we shall refuse to relieve and supply the king's wants at all and thereby object him, the state, and ourselves, to infinite mischiefs or governing our eye with the dutiful and sympathetical feeling of good subjects dispose ourselves according to our talent and their promise to our sovereign's benefit and thereby to the glory

of the undertakers performing what they have undertaken, witnessed by the successful effect the clear sighted wisdom of their counsel by which we were brought hither and the omnipotency of their power over us and the kingdom in working us to their will. This distraeth me and if this latter prevail we are miserable, the kingdom dishonoured, nay ashamed ; a stumbling stone is set in Israel, and a detestable preeedent for posterity. Enough will be found to presume from the general love of the subject, by way of preoecupation, to abuse the king and subjects and henceforth have them have all : we are helots they our lords the Spartans. Shall we then stop our ears to the king's demands and forsake him in his neecessities? these were extremes and neither good. Nevertheless in true judgment put the parts into the balance, consider, and choose the less ill ; rather would I save a citizen than kill an enemy, howsoever relieve the king though therein I serve some hireling's turns whose fortune (if the charity of a christian forbad it not) I should wish like the woman's who betrayed the capital to the Sabine.

A short discourse of my father's concerning prefaes and preambles in speeches.

All men commonly in their discourses, pleadings, and harangues, use prefaes. Some hold them as mannerly as for a man to knock at a door before he offer to enter, wherein suffizeth he give warning ; and then must they be short lest they resemble that little wicket with the great gate, or like some natural monster all head and no body. But generally the use of prefaes is to prepare the hearers by insinuation into their good wills, that what is said may be welcomly received, excusing the errors of the speaker and well interpreting the mind, howsoever the words be. Yet are they according to the times, places, persons, and arguments, sometimes more necessary than other and when they come accompanied with these circumstancees they entreat not but command reception and acceptation as challenging their due and not depending upon courtesy ; yet, lest a good part be ill played, it is good to be civil. If many be to handle the same argument, then must discretion so apportion the time that everyone have his turn, unless the speaker may assume to himself the same reason Cato Utician did when with his speech he took up the whole time in the Senate house to put by the interposition of ill propositions. The places also have their peculiar property of speeches as council tables and committees are to be succinct and short : so have the persons who are to handle the subject, for some are like the 'vant-currers' or *velites* only, the heat of the day is to be born by the heavy armed, the *principes* and *hastati* : speech in this resembling a well marshalled army where the weakest are in order, march, and fight first, the strongest, to whom is credited the whole day's work, follow after : and tradesmen in shewing their ware and

merchandise follow the same rule and seldom or never at the first bring forth their choicce stuff. In feasts also, 'sallets' and such like small dishes begin the board, who, if not confined in their number but that they do *grassari per totam mensam* then shall the guests receive from such a meal as little contentment as nourishment : and to these prefaces be aptly compared, and tolerable only in proporation ; which exceeded, distasteful.

The copy of a letter of my father's concerning his Wardship of Aram. 10 April, 1614. *Note in the margin in another hand,* To Mr. Sacheverell.

Sir, I know friends are like two lutes, tuned equally, which echo one the other, be it the bass or the treble string which is touched, and this I conceive hath made you so inquisitive after my success for the wardship of Aram, which seems like the widow's lamm to be pulled out of her bosom, rather than to accuse my misdoing by negligence or ignorance, as the source and efficient of my misfortune. Nevertheless your question, methinks, condemns me faulty, as though I had been wanting to myself one way or other, or else, say you, how could the jury find against me, who by oath proceed betwixt party and party according to their evidence. I am loth to touch this string and yet unwilling to abandon myself much less not to satisfy you, if my understanding can reach thereunto. It is true my allegations were more than probable and those for the king imaginary, true by imputation only, implying rather from a *sic volo*, a granted than a proved truth : for be it that Mowbray might derive himself a little from his confirmation of Gatesden's grant to Lexinton, yet was it not proved that Mowbray was attainted, nor that by that attainder his estate fell to the Crown or there remained to this day. It sufficed it was so said. From which overruling confidence proceeded the decree which commanded the jury to find it accordingly : whereunto eleven of the sixteen consented, obedience being better than sacrifice according to his safe wisdom who in matter of life said he would hang ten men rather than be pulled into the Star Chamber for one. And to say the truth they were in a moral interpretation to themselves wise, which appears plainly by the comfortable success the five which dissented from them have had, that well might they conclude with the poet *non Priamus tanti totaque Troja fuit* ; for wherein have I, or could I, help them no more than Abraham could pull Dives forth of the pit. And among good philosophers the final cause moveth and commandeth the work all which justify the broad way. How then can you with justice condemn me or the wiser part of the jury either those that wrought in the vineyard the first hour or those that tumbled in to them the last hour unless you be one of those separatists who believe more in the theoricke than in the practie ; for so great a difference is there between the written and the experimented truth, not much unlike to Scripture and tradition,



that the one is air the other substance ; for, be it, as I suppose it is, that the jury swerved from the oath the law gives them for a pilot to direct them betwixt party and party, and that this oath is to find the truth and the whole truth according to the evidenee, is not then this a sufficient dispensation ? And what can be replied contrary, seeing those for the king produced theirs, confirmed good by the decree and enjoined to be found so, the other party shewed nothing in answer ? the decree, on which they must ground their conscience, pronounced and witnessed, he had nothing to shew ; have not they then found the truth and whole truth according to their evidenee ? I hope by this you have changed your opinion and that you see both myself and jury in our wedding garments for upon this enjoinment I dared as much to bring forth my prohibited evidenee as the jury durst assume other conscience than the decree licensed them. *Sed in seriis non plus jocandum est ;* let us, if you please therefore, remember again the jury's oath in regard of them that took it, the one party appears not both ; the one produceth his allegations, the other not ; is this evidenee, is this the truth ? The truth as I take it, under reformation, is an extraction drawn from both parties' allegations and both parties' writings, proofs, and disproofs, conferred together, create an evidenee which only is to direct the conscience of the triers : if this be so, then have these jurors proceeded without evidenee, without truth, and consequently contrary to their oaths. If then with reason and argument they cannot hear they be satisfied, let them resort to the divines or the divine book where, if they find these doings allowed, let them confirm their brethren who in all controversies at the common law and otherwise follow a strieter standard and let them draw them from their needless puritanism into the free libertyn profession, for this is charity and is commanded by the greatest commander, namely that howsoever thou wast converted confirm thy brother ; but if otherwise and that even in criminal delinquencies, where the law grants the Crown the greatest advantage, the party is heard speak for himself and none unheard at any time condemned. Wherefore then in civil differences for *meum* and *tuum* should any man's right without hearing him be arraigned and torn from him by any jury soever ? For howsoever authority may censure and decree yet these men are tied to an oath and not to decrees ; to their evidenee not to other men's opinions ; to the truth and the whole truth betwixt party and party. We have canvassed this subject sufficiently and to say the truth it is no meat for mowers. I wish therefore this thorn in some other man's foot that could express his own feeling and sense better : my particuler therein is not much for in a hundred years the tenure of Aram hath brought to the manor of Haughton 10*l.* only, and whether I have hereafter anything thence I care not, nor much for the present expectation, save that I would not be in the number of *felon de se*

by forsaking that right which others as well as myself suppose to remain in me. I fear me I have been too tedious, endeavouring by much speech to be understood, and if the matter overtake me blame me not for I am no professed lawyer and this is for their occupation. Fare you well and continue me as heretofore because I am etc.

The copy of a letter from Sir JOHN HOLLES to Sir THOMAS LAKES.

Sir. I pray God this letter may find you while (with the ancient Israelites) you are a tent dweller, fearing the general rendezvous at Windsor may be too late. Howsoever it shall take the chance, for, methinks, rather that than diligence distinguisheth days and successes. After I parted from you, surveying the seeming condition I held with Cæsar and his *privados*, I conjectured to what end; and with that I cast my eye over the means, for in all preferments merit seems to play the principal part; which is the best *barricado* against envy and competition, and that in this age is rather expressed with the opportunities given a man to merit, for it sufficeth such one hath been employed (*quam benè se gessit* it matters not). What man then unemployed can justly mutiny at his advancement? Then is employment necessary but where? The larche is out, the best places either filled or so slubbered that better garments will not vouchsafe to sit there. Then the Deputyship of Ireland only remaineth, in which I hope Chichester hath no perpetuity. You may taste in this Northampton's inclination or whom else you find proper. In the theorie and practik of the wars, I have bestowed much time, Ireland, the Low Countries, some sea journeys. In this I hope you understand me better than that I may seem either to boast or to praise myself: this is only a preparation for objections, for I seek not to dishonour my friends, that they elothe an ape in purple at your desire. But without vanity or the injury of comparison I hope I should not want many grains of those who have preceded in that place, I mean the more part of them. I write more freely to you, our friendship assuring me of your good interpretation, and beside for your instruction I hold it necessary, otherwise should I much blush to have with Ham discovered my own shame as he did his father's drunkenness. Well, howsoever, in your love to me pardon it seeing this natural error all men have that they love themselves a little too much even the wisest, with whom in this particular I am content to err.

SIR J. HOLLES to LORD COOK.

The superscription. To the Right Honourable my very good Lord Sir Edward Cooke, knight, Lord Chief Justice of England and one of His Majesty's Privy Council.

My good Lord. I have according to my promise sent this gentleman Edw. Holles, my kinsman, to your lordship who in



the things concerning Sir Thomas [Langford *in the margin*] his marriage and disposition of those lands and in any other particuler concerning Sir Thomas Holles his grandfather's estate can best work your lordship's satisfaction. I have also sought among my evidenees that your lordship may know what I know thereabouts and as yet I have found only the paper book of eovenants betwixt old William Holles and Sir Ranst Langford which with what else of that kind I shall light upon I will (God willing) bring with me to your lordship to London at your return from your eireuit. I remember some two years past a suit being betwixt my eousin Reddish and Langford's widow for that estate; my brother Cook, of Trusley, moved me in Mr. Reddishes behalf, whom I then advised to seek out and eompound with Mr. Langford's first wife's heir, who was this gentleman's aunt, as most material, and therewithall he should also have had from me a list of the lands assured upon that marriage. This also, with such proeedings as be with me, your lordship shall have, I would gladly have attended at your being at Nottingham, if my health not yet enough eonfirmed against this nipping eold season had permitted; and therefore I beseeeh your lordship pardon this absence and in the mean time, give me leave to move your lordship to be pleased to take notiee that for the more indifferent exeecution of justiee in this country no man's man be permitted to be chief constable or eoroner nor any soever received into these plaees unless he be of good freehold. If your lordship hold eonvenient to dive hereinto, an easy serutiny will present one gentleman's fortune in this country to have the elerk of the Assizes his tenant, the elerk of the Peaee his servant and tenant, one of the eoroners his servant and tenant, and a chief constable a daily household servant and tenant, of which four the three latter are reputed to have little or no freehold at all; besides this, there is a great abuse in aeeption of ale houses, everyone admitted without reseripcion to the person, condition, habitation, or town; and in some small hamlets where there be not in all twenty houses four of them are lieensed to keep ale houses, paying as they say to the elerk of the Peaee at every Easter session 2s. 4d. per annum: these reeeptacles corrupt servants, nourish idleness and drunkenness, the common parents of all disorders, and harbour rogues, with which vermin this shire swarmeth, by reason also that the House of Correection performeth not his duty for there they be rather in proteetion and never whipped (which I take it the first constitution inflieted merely), but as they say suffered to walk abroad, that they grow dangerous to the inhabitants thereabouts so as it were better to have no such seareerow at all. I am loth to enter into these offees for my eountry, for so be they aptlier styled than informations, fearing to be too tedious to your lordship who may therein receive elearer aeeount from Mr. Wood or Mr. Saeheverell both gentlemen of good understandings, good governors, and

lovers of their country. For this by me said I crave pardon and humbly take my leave as being your lordship's at commandment, J. HOLLES. Haughton, 16 March, 1613-14.

Sir JOHN HOLLES to LORD CHANCELLOR EGERTON.  
15 May, 1614.

Right Honourable. Because I hold writing less troublesome to your lordship's more important affairs than speech and that I only covet to be understood to your satisfaction how I have proceeded in this controversy with the Baronet Sir John Mullineux, wherein I have good grounds to believe that I am much traduced with your lordship, I presume to offer this short declaration—That my Lord Sheffield having sold and Sir John Mullineux bought so injuriously that part of Blackwell from me as it appeareth more at large in my answer, I determined to free myself and land from them and their incumbrances, and therefore according to the information from my officer there some two or three months before the purchase that the tenants by exchanges one with another had enclosed their cornfields and depastured them to the overthrow of the tillage, as it appeareth by the depositions, I gave commandment that all my tenants should reassume their known land which they accordingly endeavoured, and being resisted by Sir John Mullineux's tenants I resorted for remedy to the Common Law, he and his to the Chancery, and by injunction there have blocked me up these eight years, saving some few sallies your lordship permitted me to make upon the reasonable motions of my counsel, in which I always prevailed. Your lordship for the clearer viewing the state of the question commanded a case to be agreed on by the counsel on both sides, which failed on his part many terms, and withal your lordship was pleased to move a treaty betwixt us according to the arbitration of Sir John Harper, Sir Peter Brecheuille, and Sir John Bentley, which on his part also failed, as it appeareth by Sir John Harper's and Sir John Bentley's certificate, and your lordship's order thereupon. Whereupon your lordship held meet to let fall that commission of treaty, for the reasons then alleged, and to command the renewing of the ease: which well weighed, your lordship upon grave consideration pronounced that neither in law nor conscience I was tied by this tenants' exchanges, as by that order it also appeareth. Now lately Sir John Mullineux endeavouring to undershore his ruinous and falling cause by an unusual and dangerous invention, pretending confederacy betwixt my Lord Sheffield and me, he hath made Lord Sheffield, heretofore the principal actor against me and ever since his first wrong now eight years past a stranger to me, now defendant with me, who in his answer sweareth point blank to all and every part of the question as Sir John Mullineux's heart can desire, and those his tenants, in the first bill plaintiffs with him, are in this latter his witnesses. The Lord Sheffield may seem

to have a human excuse seeing by bonds and covenants he is tied to make good his sale of his three parts in that manner expressed; to which with your lordship's good pardon I protest before the God of truth that never there was communication or writing or reference from him to me, or from me to the officers, of any exchanges or enclosures, wherein I tremble at this his mistaking or facility, for these speeches, messages, and references were only concerning the coalpits in common betwixt us and disorders between the colliers, banksmen, and bailiffs incident thereunto. Only once they repaired to me about a way, as it appeareth by Renold's deposition, to which I remit myself. All which I humbly present to your lordship's wisdom, not so much in regard of my particular hereby only prejudiced as for the consequence hereof by way of precedent. Upon Thursday, in court, upon opening of this new bill and answer, your lordship was pleased to declare your dislike of levellers and destroyers of enclosures, and withal to add that you had wished friendly arbitrament and moderation betwixt us, and so rose up. The next morning Sir John Mullineux writ to me, if I would, he was willing friends should compound the difference ere the next sitting of the court; I answered I coveted only my own, that thereabout I had spent much and the court, I hoped, would do me right. Yesterday your lordship being entered into the causes for that day, I attended my public duty in the Parliament House and so soon as I had notice that your lordship called for mine I hasted out and ere I came it was adjourned till Monday. I give this account, submitting to your lordship's judgment, if one afternoon (if I had spared the same from those important committees of Parliament business) had been sufficient to have compounded an eight year's controversy and that howsoever my service may be requisite for my country yet being the meanest of so many far more worthy associates thereby presuming I may be the better spared, I will never serve me of the Parliament for a subterfuge but shall be ready to receive your lordship's censure upon that cause, not following in this Sir John Mullinex's example who some four years past, your lordship being absent by reason of the Parliament, refusing the then Master of the Rolls and Mr. Justice Williams, put off that hearing, which after four or five terms delay by him, I though defendant had procured of your lordship, and for my far greater charge had only 4*l* allowed, all this, with the rest, I humbly submit to your Lordship's consideration and rest in all humble service.

J. HOLLES.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to DR. ABBOT, Archbishop of Canterbury,  
in the behalf of Doctor Snoden.

Most reverend father in God and my very good lord. Heretofore I have presumed to move your grace in the behalf of



Dr. Snoden for his advancement in church dignities as occasion offered with your grace's good opportunity and then it pleased you to receive that my recommendation with good allowance : so it is that Dr. Stanton the Dean of Lincoln is supposed in danger of death and by physicians and others thought not to continue many days. My humble request is that you will have favourable respect to Doctor Snoden herein, whom your grace knows to be wholly at your devotion, and besides his fitness for ecclesiastical government there cannot be a better judge than your grace of his sufficiency in all sorts of learning. Neither think I it will be a hindrance to him with the king that he is his Majesty's chaplain and preached before him at Newstead in Nottinghamshire so much to his good liking as it pleased the king to demand and accordingly to have a copy of that sermon ; and besides heretofore was employed and took great pains with me in that successful business of Rufford Abbey. I will not be tedious to your lordship but humbly leave the man, the matter, and myself, to your honourable and grand consideration and for ever remain, your grace's most bounden and at commandment.

THE SAME to MONTACUTE, Bishop of BATH and WELLS.

My very good Lord. Long since your lordship hath heard of the bishop of Lincoln's death and by this letter I am to advertise your lordship that the old dean Doctor Stanton doth hasten that way and in the opinion of all men, physicians and others, cannot continue many days. These letters are humblest solicitors in the behalf of an old Cambridge acquaintance of your lordship there much esteemed by you and lately at my desire and my lord bishop's of Coventry and Lichfield by your lordship especially recommended this last year to be one of the king's chaplains. Of his sufficiency I need not speak. Your lordship thereof is a better judge. At Newstead in Nottinghamshire he preached (*etc., as above*). I humbly entreat your lordship to perfect the work of his advancement which yourself hath so well begun, which cannot be done, I assure myself, for a more thankful man : and for mine own part, as one tied unto you by many obligations heretofore, you shall ever find me ready to serve you in any occasion. Haughton. September, 1613.

THE SAME to my Lord Chamberlain HOWARD, in the behalf of Dr. Snoden.

Asking his support of the Doctor for the deanery on the like grounds. Haughton, October 1613.

THE SAME to SIR ROBERT MANSFIELD in the Marshalseas and being to answer before the Lords.

Robin. This day I heard that to-morrow morning you have some business at Whitehall wherein I doubt not but you will



play the man. I covet you may shew yourself a wise man, that is patient, and give your contraries no more advantage than they bring with them. I know not the argument and therefore cannot advise you. The common voice is you have tranehed (as they phrase it), into the prerogative by coveting to understand the right of that commission concerning the Admiralty, which, if a sin, any other man, as I conceive, had committed as well as you and you are not the first adventurer in these voyages, as upon search will appear to you by many precedents. Robin, be patient, rather crave than stir upon your spur; be, as becomes you, respectful humbly to the King and my Lords, hold to your text, leap not out upon or after humor, and take this principally into your eare that you never stretched your desire to defend yourself beyond the duty of a most affectionate servant which every way with life and all his faulties studied his master's greatness; so far was he from thinking to diminish the least grain of the prerogative by resorting only for his better direction to the common law of the kingdom: this general also fortify with your best reasons and conclude with your precedents. And if, wherein you have erred, you modestly submit to reformation, that courtship will neither condemn you in this particular nor prejudice your assuredness in the best Roman's judgment there. If I had better materials, I would bring them to this work, howsoever excuse them for I am yours faithfully assured.

SIR ROBERT MANSFIELD to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Noble Jaek! The benefit that this ill lodging and continual crosses brings me is an assuredness of a better lodging and rest provided for me in Heaven, where I will not fail to plead for you that you were my friend, and I fear it will be the best plea considering the continual happiness that you fully possess in this world. My imprisonment ariseth from my refusal to name the lawyer that had delivered me certain objections in writing against a commission granted the last winter against the Admiralty; my labouring to save that gentleman that by my importunity was embarked to his prejudice (as I feared) hath made me the first and unfortunate prisoner that ever was of my house, which misfortune, though it may disable me to do you service, yet it shall never bereave you of the love of a faithful and true affectionate friend. Marshalseas this Whitsun Tuesday, 1613.

Le double d'une missive de MADAME DE BEAUMONT femme du Comte de Beaumont ambassadeur en Anglcterre pour le roi de France a MADAME HOLLES, 1605.

Madame. Ayant tant receu de tesmoignages de votre amitie depuis que je suis en ce pays et estant sur le point d'en partir pour m'en retourner en France privée de ce bonheur de vous pouvoir dire adieu, je vous supplierai de me permettre

que ce papier face cest office en mon lieu, et de eroire que je conserverai tant que je vivrai la memoire de voz faveurz et courtoizies, ne voulant non plus manquer a honorer voz vertus et merites qui m'obligent a entretenir et conserver vostre amitie et a reechercher toutes sortes d'occasions de vous rendre des tesmoignages de l'affection que je porte a vostre service, et que c'est sans dissimulation que je suis et serai toute ma vie, Madame, vostre bien humble et affectionnee a vous faire service.  
Anne de Rabot.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR JOHN DIGBY, ambassador in Spain  
anno 1611 the 6th of September.

Though your worth hath purchased you many more useful and powerful friends, yet none more desirous to be of use to you, nor none more glad of your well doing ; and because well saying and protestation, is no touch for that metal I will be the more silent and in the meantime attend the favour of some good occasion, action being a truer interpreter of the heart which though peradventure not happening through my disabilities yet may it well be confessed *c'est beaucoup que de vouloir estre*, especially in this age for the more part even barren of all good intentions. I have received from you two letters, the one from the merchant the other from my old friend Mr. Cottington ; and this is the first you are to have from me wanting for the more part matter worthy of you howsoever fitting messengers : besides I supposed court passages presented you from better hands, our house as yet affording little worth the sending abroad. Of the Prince of Hessens being with us you have heard ; the princee, my master, entertained him with fare, and sports, tennis, the ring, 'mannage,' and hunting, very royally at Richmond *trois jours durant*, and presented him at his waygate with dogs, horses, bows, and guns. Many liked him better for our Infanta than the Savoyard in regard of religion and than the Palsgrave, because his father drunk himself dead and we fear his patrisation : this gentleman being so well bred that he seemed settled in good fashion and civility ; yet have I good grounds to believe that the Palsgrave will get the golden fleece. This matrimonial discourse remembers me your business, which not succeeding, let me speak freely to you and as a friend receive it. Be more moderate in your expenses, *verbum sapienti*, my reasons you know, reward following the fruits of our service not the intentions or good endeavours. I give you this *caveat* having heard you somewhat questioned by your predecessor for your expensive housekeeping and numerous family, which though peradventure somewhat injuriously comparatively with his own frugality, yet may you hence reap this fruit, having your rule before you, to subtract much from the proportion you now hold and yet live far more nobly ; and, though you return not to your hive laden with the honey of 16,000 increase, yet so as your estate decrease not and that you have at your

entrancee some *bonnes estrennes* to perfume the counsell and bed-chamber withall, the honour of your employment well performed will be gains sufficient. Jack Digby, by this you see my humour to my friend, whom I presume will understand me rightly; and though I have babbled long yet, ere you censure, receive and disjest well this my opinion. When you write again to our Secretary and Sir David Murray let not a common messenger deliver them both but a several hand, for factions be<sup>re</sup> in every court: and, though public ministers must seem to be general that all men may be their friends, yet if they be every man's they be no man's and favourites love a sole dependency, and it sufficeth they believe it, which a wise man may work without breach of honour or conscience: withall, understand me, that I would not you should neglect either, for *celui qu'on fuit il le condanne*. In the meantime assure yourself I will be watchful in all good offices for your advantage, wishing you a prosperous navigation in this large ocean of construction where not the work but acceptance justifies, and with service to my lady will rest, etc.

The SAME to LORD NORRICE, at Ryeott, 28 April, 1614.

My noble Lord, give me leave to salute you and to present you my service, though I hope, the Parliament's adjournment being expired, to see you in the town. I came hither some few days before Easter as a bear to the stake, unwilling to have been of the House at this time, conjecturing this would begin where the other Parliament left. Neither was I deceived for the impositions are already brought in as an antidote against subsidies, and because grants come from union and disputes from divisions a schism is cast into the House by reason of some interlopers betwixt the K. and the Parliament, whom they term undertakers, so named, because they have promised that the Parliament shall supply the King's wants to his contentment, presuming thereby of their omnipotent strength and command and of their fellows weakness and obedience to their wills, which presumption hath in my opinion much prejudiced the public business and no less endangered the K.'s satisfaction, for the House thus supposed to be in pupilage to a few Phaetons taketh the injury so to heart as they fear to grant the King's desire, not for that they envy these undertakers' reward but that they foresee a perilous consequence by this precedent to the State, when kings heartened by this success shall hereafter practise the like; and sprinkling some hires upon a few shall neglect both the service and the gratifying of the body and gross of the kingdom, and so by little and little steal away the liberty and at the next opportunity overthrow Parliament itself. But it may be that with warmer weather these frozen hearts will thaw and that the natural inclination of the best subjects of Europe to their king's benefit will revive by the skilful fomentations which my lords of your House will apply. God grant us well



out of these labyrinths and that this strangeness betwixt the King and his people might once be removed ! It is true the King's council (as I hear) have presented to the House (as good preparatives) some Bills of Grace which, being lean and ill larded, rather irk than please our appetites, whereof the King having information he is therefore somewhat (as it is said) distasted with those bad cooks of his learned council and purposeth on Monday to feed us with better morcels that about the middle of the week we may more cheerfully undergo the burden of some subsidies. I am a stranger at Whitehall and cannot witness but by the universal effects Somerset's greatness which to some seems also to have rather swallowed up the House with which he is matched. *Sed hoc supra.* Your lordship's servant doubteth the carrier will be gone. I must end abruptly and humbly take my leave, this 28 April, 1614, your lordship's ever to command.

THE SAME to my LADY of HARTFORD, 1613.

Madam. We have taken up the money for six months and paid Mr. Alderman Prescott the interest so as your Ladyship and my Lord have more time to turn you for the discharge thereof. Sir Thomas Dennis hath been dangerously sick and yet is not well recovered, yet so as he purposeth to remove to Sir John Mannering's house in the country this next week. Here at the last the prince's little house is established, which the king's irresolution hath so long deferred ; and, as I hear, Sir Robert Carr is received into the bed-chamber and Sir David Murray is rejected, and much such like stuff is there here : and to-morrow the prince removes to Richmond. I am now retiring into the country, into a harbour of more quiet, and leave these rough seas to stronger sided ships, neither can I hope to climb where my master's worthy memory misunderstood lies trodden in the dust. Nevertheless am I contented and will the more trust to myself the less trust I find in others ; and, if hereafter any addition come to me, it comes unexpected, undesired. Happy were we if we enjoyed the present and could see no further than to keep us from stumbling ! Then should not future uncertainties torture us sleeping and waking nor should we lose ourselves in seeking after others. For if that we have could content us, we were yet in Paradise. Of your Ladyship's good wishes I am well assured and more I cannot have, and therefore my obligation is infinite. For though they succeed not the fault is my fortunes not them. Once had I a powerful friend, my late worthy master, whose noble disposition to my good was seconded with a predominant power, yet my egg cracked ere it were hatched for he died and with him the present comfort and future glory of this kingdom, so as, through all losing my loss may seem less, yet have I double cause to grieve for my private as well as the public. But patience is the virtue best becoming a wise man and a Christian in whose circle I will



endeavour to contain me ; and so, pray I may those of my fellows who are shut forth of the bride-chamber wherein my Lord of Rochester hath shewed himself a chief workman, for both good and bad in this business is attributed to him, nevertheless we hear nothing of Treasurer nor Seeretary, and the nullity either sleepeth or is suspended a while longer till all obstructions and rubs be swept forth. God turn all to the best !

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR THOMAS LAKES.  
8 December, 1613.

Sir. I forbore the delivery of the king's letter to the Master of the Wards as I would the application of a medicine that would rather nourish than cure a disease, and am returned into the country ; this business, with others, thither summoning me. My grief was (and that I conceive just) that, contrary to reason, the law of the land, and common justice, my evidence was suppressed ; the jury, which is the ordinary trier of *meum* and *tuum*, by hearing both parties, should find by enjoinment against me without hearing me, or else be punished : in this I coveted relief and therefore resorted to his Majesty as to our supreme judge. In my Lord of Harford's cause (notwithstanding of that high nature) the whole jury heard the whole evidence : six only of seventeen must hear this a title only of inheritance, the rest, being eleven, must condemn me and never hear me speak, guided herein by others' will and not by their own conscience, which in this kingdom is the foundation of all civil trials. The Attorney I understood well and needed no further account upon what ground he built this extraordinary decree (as is pretended) : he said the Court had precedents in this kind. I replied the more the worse for the law, not will nor example, must rule the judge, yet by his favour I have heard, if he can shew any such they be of his own coining, for preceding time never minted any of that metal. Well I am sorry I have troubled you and myself in so barren a business yet repent I me nothing of the knowledge I have given the King thereof, for henceforth in howsoever I know to what to trust, with which I shall rest contented and to my power in all thankfulness your assured friend to command.

THE SAME to my LORD CHAMBERLAIN HOWARD,  
6 February, 1613.

My Lord. I presume, from my old friend Sir Thomas Munson, to present to your lordship for my Lady of Somerset in her absence this small token of well wishing to her nuptials. It was ready for that day, my determination then being to have been in the town though not present in regard of my bad health, but my business in the Court of Wards summoning me into the country the 17th of December the weather there fell out so cruel, the ways also in extremity, and I myself in regard of

weakness much overharrowed with my late journey, that not being able to wrestle with these adversaries I yielded to necessity and stayed; and being willing to see whether the goldsmith had pursued my meaning I forebore sending it till my return hither, when I found the arms very faulty that I was constrained to attend their amendment which was till yesterday. I beseech your lordship in your honourable favour measure me not by this small testimony, your lordship in particular hath my service when you shall hold it worthy the calling for, though peradventure I am no skilful offerer thereof. And in the meantime I join with those that wish you all happiness and shall remain your lordship's ever to be commanded.

THE SAME to SIR JOHN DIGBY, ambassador in Spain, 1613.  
17 of February.

Noble Sir John. Since my last letters to you, I was walking the way of all flesh and leaving the world to them that either be better favoured by it or that will win the game howsoever their cards be. I confess I readily accepted the offer, if God had been so pleased, who seemeth to reserve me for more patience, for some are ordained for materials as others be for workmen. My master's death hath left me black garments and bred me gray hairs: and now that the worst is past I begin to preach to myself the vanity of men that place their rest in any flesh but in their own. And now forsooth I would as willingly laugh aloud without a cause as those that sit between our cherubims laugh with cause. But want of health and store of law-suits keep in my tops and make me *idem intus et extra*, that in the meanwhile I am content the Court forget me rather than with Silvanus to follow a disdainful Diana. This may with you excuse my ignorant letter which brings no freight worthy an ambassador; and shall I according to our ancient liberty, speak plain English then may I tell you our great counsellors have little better ware, for those commodities are reserved for the cabinet, Royston being become the sole judge of the law and Whitehall of the fact. I am heartily sorry your return hither this spring is disappointed, that you might have seen the face of things. Now that Roxborrow is coupled with Mrs. Drummond they say he shall be viscounted and a counsellor. Whether this match or his name gain him this fleece I know not, and yet our Cars be now our best foundations. They say also we shall have a Parliament and the apostates of the last are proselytes in this and have, as the many headed beast saith, contracted for plenty of subsidies: nevertheless, I dare not promise them good success, for a good part may be ill-played and I wish they would remember the tale of the bear with which the Emperor answered Lewis the Eleventh's ambassage concerning the parting of the Duke of Burgundy's estate betwixt them while he was too strong for them both and therefore feared by them both. I doubt not but some of your

friends will send you the proclamation and book upon the duel, which had for a gentleman usher a question between a butcher and a barber, from whose 'carteling' proceeded the Star Chamber sentence, the basis and ground of the proclamation, since that summons passed from our one handed Heydon which was accepted by my Lord of Essex in right of my Lady Haddington, whom Heydon having offended with an interrogatory and receiving the style of a poor fellow as the reason of her not answering him diverted his reply with some injury (as was conceived) to my Lord of Essex then accompanying her, who thereupon invited him into St. George's Fields. But the process proceeded not, Essex was surprised by Canterbury; and Heydon, called before the Lords, was thence conveyed to the Fleet where yet he dwelleth. This happened the misty marriage day when at noon one could hardly cut his meat without torchlight. Another question fell betwixt my Lord St. John, lately married to my Lord Montague's daughter, and Mr. Arundel the Lord Arundel's second son. It sprung first from jealousy, which being reconciled was revived by an ill office from Sir Anthony Mayny; which nevertheless being discovered they both were apprehended and now imprisoned also. *A Marte ad Venerem sed absit Vulcanus.* The last night in further honour of the misty marriage the Queen made at Somerset House a great feast to which so many either came or were invited that a table stretching the whole length of the gallery was filled. She herself sat at the boards' end and by her stood the whole time my Lord of Essex. Winwood and Edmonds pursue the secretaryship (for Sir Henry Nevil is for the Household); and, if the business with France succeeds, Sir Harry Umpton's man will earn the apple from Sir Harry Nevil's. Sir John, a great monarch accepted a cup of cold water, your love I persuade me, will accept this also from your friend, which name if I could believe I had lost with my master, I should as little trouble you with any remembrance of me as I do others who in that sunshine embraced my shadow, not me. But of you I carry a far worthier thought, as assured of your value by many touches and I think that long ere this I should have received letters from you as assurances of your love, without having aspect to the service I could do you, if you had not hoped to have given me and the rest of your friends your presence within a few months. I will produce this letter no longer lest it become a volume. Excuse me as a friend because I wish you all happiness.

P.S.—If the Parliament bargaining hold, the white staves be bestowed and he that cannot have the mistress begins to make love to the maid. For these two years Nevil hath wooed the secretaryship, an office of state, and now betakes himself to my lord Wootton's place, an office of the Household, if he can get it, and what can be too strong for his Hercules who governs Jupiter and the globe under his feet, from whom, though I have



received good words, yet those fair leaves are fallen with the winter.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 1613.

Noble Sir John. I received your last letters of 20 June, which promised me this, by this messenger, the more welcome in that it gives me assurance of free speech; for in these unquiet seas such bottoms sail not securely without good waftage, and, though the greatest pirate of this kind of merchandise may be thought to be gone, we poor traders are nevertheless to look about us, such store remaining hatched up in the same discipline. And first touching our Polyphemus or rather our great Chaos his eye, to which dead Alexander compared his whole monarchy, was said to be left in darkness and confusion, no one being found enough strongly shouldered, caused the burden to be divided among many, for now we have six Treasurers, not the more workmen because the harvest is great, for never more scarcity toward. It may be, the more because so many would be, which desire of universal contentment employed and choked our Privy Chamber, you know, at the King's first coming; but the five finger and principal verb in this sentence is my Lord Chamberlain; since Rochester came, hedged in *solitis artibus*, we are all now become Pythagoras his scholars, *ipse dixit* serves the turn better yet than any maxim of Aristotle, the dead man's papers and prelections in this great man's hand command more absolutely than when they were themselves, yet is imitation dangerous, unless accompanied with all the circumstances. If accident etc. undraw the curtain and that Diana her nakedness be discovered, some monsters will appear, among the rest that kings are not confined to their demesnes, their customs (in true English their prerogative) being their principal and natural revenue. Whereupon for present sustentation, and satisfaction of some debt, the gates of sail are lately opened to so much land as ariseth to 2,000*l.* per annum, and the Parliament is yet suspended, it being feared they will begin where they left with a direct opposition against this new doctrine. And to prove that this motion governs our sphere some followers say that the Treasurer rather overshadowed him, and himself the last day, questioning Sir Harry Glemman for some supposed injuries, said that though the world supposed he had lost much of power by the loss of their great friend yet should his arm be found strong enough to grapple with a stronger opponent. This, among many particulars, I mention that you may know who hath the keys, the King in the meantime performing the office of Secretary, receiving and despatching all, as yet doubtful of his subordinate, though Winwood sent for here suddenly appeared yet again dismissed, and so that expectation silenced for the while. It may be, when Wootton returns, whom King and Queen etc. more affect, and that his negotiation prove canonical, it will appear who shall enjoy this fair Helen.



SIR JOHN HOLLES to ABBOT, bishop (*sic*) of Canterbury,  
presently after prince Harry's death, 1612.

My good Lord. I am less scrupulous in bewailing my great loss to your lordship because you suffered also in the same storm, so great a portion had you in that blessed prince my most worthy master's affection. But he is gone and, with an ever-living remembrance of his unmatched virtues, hath left us a never dying sense of present and future miseries, for I may truly say the corner stone of our church, the sword and target of our king and state, the glory of Christendom and this age, the comfort of worth in men and actions, is gone and perished. Your Lordship I know understood his worth which daily experience will manifest to the world with grief and admiration and consequently you conceive the irreparable loss of that great worth. He loved you and you him, which I knew from you both ; so knew I the happy place I held in his good favour and purpose, whereof, I have some reason to conjecture, your lordship was not altogether ignorant : but now I may cry out *Spes et fortuna valete !* My hopes and fortunes lie in the grave with him. This comfort nevertheless shall ever accompany me that I had the honour to serve so worthy a master, and of that no man's brow can deprive me, neither squinted I at any man's else. Ah ! my dear master knew me his and no man's else ; so was I the king's eight years, though with small fruit and acknowledgment : yet nothing repent I me thereof, though peradventure I want those creeks to creep into which some of my fellows have. It shall suffice me to dwell in their good opinion whom my master loved, of whom your lordship was a principal, and this I only beg at your hands and hope to possess as being your grace's most humbly to command. St. James, this 10 November, 1612.

From THE SAME to the DUKE of LENNOX, upon the Prince's death.

My most noble Lord. Eight years I served his Majesty and, because I depended not elsewhere, that time wasted without acknowledgment, my fellows and inferiors on every side preferred before me, some to honours, some to employments. Now two years past it pleased my most worthy master the prince to cast his gracious eye upon me and to receive me into this honourable place of service wherein the Lord of Heaven be humbly thanked ! I served him this while to his highness's content and my everlasting comfort. But he is gone, the glory of Christendom, the sole hope of this age, and the comfort of all virtues and worthy actions and men, is gone ! And with him lie dead and buried all my hopes and fortunes. Pardon me, my good Lord, if this memory be most burdensome to me as well for the general as my particular, for my eye was only to him (with whom I understand the father also), to his service, to his commandment, and upon no other flesh living save those

whom I knew he inwardly favoured, among whom your lordship was and deserved to be a priniepal; and withal be pleased to aecept this testimony of my devotion to your serviee, which, while I live, the memory of my most worthy master shall cause me to be your's ever at commandment. St. James this 12 November, 1612.

THE SAME to MR. FRANCIS COOKE, of Trusley, presently after the Prince's death.

Brother. You have I know long since heard of the death of my most dear lord and master, the prinnee, and I nothing doubt but you mourn in the country as well as we here in the Court, for in the general shipwreck we all have equal part. The particular most eoneerneth us his servants and among them those whom he most favoured, of which number I had then the happiness and honour and now the misery to be one; whereof as in his lifetime, I had good testimony so, if this untimely death had not prevented his prinnee's purpose, a few months had brought forth the comfortable fruits to the eye of the world. But he is gone and with him those superfluous additions of my better fortunes; neither expect I in these overlooking times other comfort from my private family, patrimony and friends, yet the King is pleased to say he will have a gracious regard of us; and something the world expecteth for the honour of our most worthy master, of which notwithstanding I have no hope, knowing that, if the dispensers of these favours can find any precedent that the prinnee's officers were returned *ad penates privatos sine præmio, sine spe*, they will take the advantage of the King's wants and return us home also after the same unworthy fashion. Oh! we were too happy and consequently too much envied; and with our master peradventure also flattered, but now the wheel is turned and they who brow it aloft may in their turn also slip under. For, as these days be evil, full of misery, and of fears of woes, God turn these deserved judgments from us for his merey's sake!

Another from THE SAME to THE SAME, upon the same subject.  
1612.

Brother Cook. Long since I know you have heard the doleful news of the prinnee my dear lord and master's death and I fear me this betokeneth God's implacable vengeance upon this kingdom for the multitude and heinousness of our sins, for our hypocrisy in religion, carelessness and contempt of God and all good men, pride, luxury, abuse and unthankfulness for his great blessings and benefits; these, with many more, ery with open mouth to heaven against this land. And much of this ill had this worthy prinnee reformed, if God had spared him life. But Josias must be received to his fathers that he stand no longer in the gap to keep baek the sword of wrath. Good men must

die and wicked men live. What need I say more ? Even the sense (so palpable is our calamity) judgeth of this. He was the stay and comfort of our tottering church, the king and kingdom's right arm, the glory of Christendom, the encourager of all good, both of actions and men. He was and he is not ; which, I fear me, we shall find and feel ere long, for now that our hedge is broken down all passengers will pull off our grapes ; our sea banks be overwhelmed and who or what shall defend us from the overflowing, all devouring, tyranny of pope and Spaniard ? A prey we are to all nations and, methinks, I see Troy's walls broken down to receive in Sinon's horse, and that verse verified *Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam*.

FROM THE SAME to SIR ROBERT MANSFIELD, upon the prince's death, November, 1613.

Robin. I will not call you hither to this house of sorrow. Your proportion needs no addition, that it is yet best we be asunder, though otherwise I desire much to see and to speak with you. Since 12 of the clock of Saturday night that I attended my dear master's bowels to the grave, I have kept my chamber, was entering into a hot ague for which I purged and let blood ; but no mortal hand can cure the everlasting comfortless sickness of my soul, which while I live I shall suffer for the loss of my most dear master, with the destruction of church, kingdom, and all worth of actions and men. Oh ! no words can express our loss nor can eye of man pierce to the end of our miseries. It is true the viol of our sins was and is full and eried to heaven for vengeance, Abel, for his blood, Nabor, for his inheritance, lust, pride, gluttony, hypocrisy, neglect and contempt of all laws divine and human, unthankfulness for His blessings and our great deliverance the fifth of November, hath brought upon us this lamentable sixth of November, and will a seventh, etc. unless a true, hearty, repentance expiate and dissolve this thick cloud of our sins and turn away the vessels of His heavenly wrath, which already be dropping and ready to pour upon our heads. For, Robin, this our uncertain state hangs rather by a geometrical than a natural thread and in this lottery we have a million of blanks to one lot of comfort. Virginia, the North West passage, all brave undertakings by sea or land for the honour and benefit of this nation, the reformation and care of a sick, diseased, home state by upholding religion, bettering the policy, moderating the 'oligarcal' greatness of Court, of council, opening the passage to virtue with reward of merit to whosoever, in what sphere soever, is gone : our great Hercules hath taken up all these joys and many more up with him and as a worthless people hath left us to the jaws of the lion, the venom of the dragon, the insatiable rapine of the harpies, till the days of our misery be full answerable to our misgiving fears and the menacing prophecies of times past which, while



we had him, we held as old wives' tales and ourselves rather in Paradise than in this wretched world. And with the thing I pray you confer the time what with such a violent swiftness that scanty the intentions of good could appear; alas! a few knew them, you and I, not many more, that came as it were to the confines of the Land of Canaan and with Moses saw it, but must not enter: no our iniquity is too great to have any relaxation, not one drop of cold water to cool our raging fiery tongues. One half year had prevented and diverted much mischief, had shewed, though not confirmed, the right way, had pulled forth the viper's tooth, and had laid such foundation of our safety with a true discovery of our stupid security, that we had been as *Diana inter Nymphas*, once again the nation among all nations, a terror to God's enemies and ours, the triumph of the Church at home, and a sure haven to the distressed Church abroad. But I will strike sail, nay I must, and never bear forth my tops again. What shall I say? I rave, my thoughts and words strive to overrun each other and as those be infinite so these would be endless. So while I wake, I rave and when I sleep, I dream: shapes and shadows and all things subject to sense and understanding present me my master, and all things be irksome to me and I to myself, because I have not my master. You are one of those that may sit down by me, you understand my language and I yours, yet in spite of all discomforts this memory relieves us both a little that you had the happiness to have his love and I the honour to have his service, and with this cordial let us strengthen ourselves against undeserved calamity. Farewell dear Robin! Thy own soul wisheth thee no better than doth thy unfeigned and ever faithful friend. St. James's. 14 November, 1612.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to a Gentleman in the Low Countries.

Sir. Never received you such lines from my hands before, full of sorrow and mourning for the late loss of my dear master, and few hands are more proper for them than yours who hath had the honour to touch his blessed hands in token of his good opinion and favour, for he cherished your profession and the worthy professors thereof; he prepared and framed himself to be a master and commander therein. You knew his studies and exercises, the ability of his mind and body; never was a richer harvest destroyed in so hopeful a spring. Count Harry was present when that masterpiece of nature perished and, if by that little taste of his conversation and virtues he held it a happiness to know him, needs must it be to him an incomparable misery to have known him no longer, and the rather for that in my knowledge he had gained a chief place in his princely affection. But our Church and kingdom, king and people, mourns in this one as Rachel for her children; and, if one would see a lively image of that lamentation in Rama, here it is. Nay this sun was too glorious, too usefull, to be



confined within our horizon—the United Provincees, those of our religion in France, Germany, nay through the whole Christian world, resent with us this great desolation, the scars and marks whereof, I fear me, will appear ere long in characters too legible. Now hangs this State upon a single thread. The King *ad solitum* at Royston etc. for his health; and, if our ship make a safe voyage, it is glory enough to the pilots; but he that was thought to look to the tackling is gone. Of myself I can say no more but that I have lost my master and in him all the comfort and honour of my life for never servant was more bound and happy in a master. If I should speak to you of him as long as I think of him, my letter would be infinite. I had written also to my brother George and my worthy cousin Sir Horace Vear, if business and visitation had afforded me leisure or that your servant had enlarged his warning. Fare you well. St. James this 27 of November, 1612.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR JOHN DIGBY, in Spain.

SIR. I persuade myself you have long since heard of the death of my most worthy lord and master the prince, for the sound thereof is gone into all lands and our cries to the ends of the world, so precious was he to all nations, either as loved or feared, and to this church and country I may say even another Josias: and by this time I suppose you have in the place where you live discovered much base metal, seeing the papists among us, like the beasts of the forest, at this sun setting, begin already to whet their teeth, and to promise themselves their *regnabo* by our *regnavi*. It is true we are like a well with two buckets: we cannot both be full nor both laugh together. Oh that the King had as well power to believe as to hear Cassandra and while time serveth to lance this exuberated, mortal, impostume, which grows in the vitals of his State. My noble master saw it and would have cured it, he stood rooted in his own virtues like a rock in the midst of the ocean whom force feared and fraud dared not to approach. And though the Aleina of Rome had spread forth all her nets that either home syeophaney or foreign flattery could afford, though Spain, Savoy, etc., under the flanker of a nuptial garment sought to buy him, as Jupiter did Semele, yet was he still himself: his constancy to his God, his sharp-sighted judgment in the good of this State, gave him strength to break these cords asunder, and yet with the moderation the present affairs required. For youth never possessed a more ripe aged virtue neither was virtue ever more prodigal in any. His wisdom, his courage, his justice, his moderation, adorned with constancy, magnificence, secrecy, have in many particulars, as models manifested themselves, and those particulars, *ut ex unguibus leonem*, have been excellent witnesses from what parents they were derived, that these increase the waters of our sorrows, with Tantalus, to see the fruit and not to taste it, nature seeming

to envy her own work, drawing this jewel forth of her cabinet only to shew it and put it up again. Perhaps we were not worthy, our sins cast forth this ark of covenant from among us, our pride, luxury, insatiable avarice, gluttony, much knowledge, and little practice, of God's word have long since pleaded against us, but especially that ugly sin of ingratitude for so many benefits received, that unexemplary stupid forgetfulness of that memorable 5th of November, solemnized only with preaching not sanctified with practising, hath brought upon us this fatal, ever to be lamented 6th of November, the forerunner, I fear me, of more calamities than the hardness of Pharaoh's heart called down upon the Egyptians. Or was not God angry with our security, with the confidence [with which] we reposed under the shadow of this young eagle's wing without giving Him the thanks and glory to whom of right it belonged, as many times those of Israel provoked His just indignation whenas they depended more upon the creature than the Creator, and then was Josias struck for the sins of the people as the people had been for the sins of David, or that God will have his church and this kingdom subsist by weaker and more unlikely means, that the less man sees his part to be therein, the more he may humble himself under God's free bounty ; and is there in this age a more fruitful sin than presumption ; in divinity, pry we not into God's secrets ? In humanity, by astrology, etc., into those of nature ? Therefore I know not what to say but to fear his sharp edged sword who slew so many thousand of Bethshenites because a few of them looked into the Ark. Sure I am he is gone and for the while our sun is set, our spear and bow is broken, and all our wealth seems stowed in some small bottom, whereof nevertheless, if God be the steersman, neither wind, waves, rocks, nor sands, shall offend us. You that are one of our out sentinels and watchmen abroad have now more reason to quicken your sight and double your diligence. You live in the midst of those Philistines who peradventure promise themselves the harvest of our labours and the wine of our vineyards, and now peradventure will they set all their engines at work that Herod and Pilate may crucify Christ, the pope betray our souls that the Spaniard may tyrannise our bodies. Then if they held the only daughter of England too rich a prize for a Palsgrave now that by this woeful accident she is one degree nearer the crown what would not your incestuous Austrian venture by force or surprise to snatch this golden fleece from Jason ? Especially having so strong a party within our walls that before spared not to deprave and calunniate our new guest as many ways unworthy and too light by many grains. By this you see what triumphs we have in hand : a woeful funeral gentleman usher to a marriage, the 7th of December is the day, the young prince chief mourner, the Palsgrave marcheth in the place of the ambassadors, whom the competition of precedency between France and Spain, the

Venetian and the Archdukes, excludeth, what Earls, what Barons, I omit as ordinary, next, whom our 1000*l.* order of Baronets appeareth some of them honoured with the service of the canopy over the body which is drawn in a chariot of six horses the rest with the carriage of some hatchments. The other particulars I leave to your other relations. In which tragedy I have also my part in grief and sorrow inferior to none there, for never servant lost a better master. Give me therefore, leave to lament my own particular also, for in this storm my hopes, nay all the additions of honour or what else perished, whereof (if God had spared him a few months longer) some such characters had appeared as Sir John Digby should have found me much abler to have served him. Yet, the Lord of Heaven be thanked ! I have meat, drink, and cloth, and that amidst my remedyless discomforts this honour and comfort shall accompany me to the grave that I served so worthy a master who vouchsafed me also a chief place in his princely affections. Neither can Spain exempt Sir John Digby from a great portion of this bitterness, he resents this irreparable loss, for the public, his country, his religion is dear to him, and though he mourn not between St. James and Westminster, *quacunq; terrarum* his heart will be sorrowfull for he lost also a worthy master, and I presume I understand them both so well I may say the chief comfort of his employments whose acknowledging acceptances caused that neither the day could be too hot nor the work too heavy. But those that are in journey look more forward than backward. It behoves us to submit to God's ordinance and to content ourselves with the present and so must I, neither knowing nor hoping of any good hereafter. And yet the King is pleased to promise graciously to us all an acknowledgment of our services according to every one's rank and merit. I fear this letter is too long to carry news, neither can I tell who shall be Treasurer. Northampton finds some opposition and the town holds the Master of the Rolls a good husband for the king that was so good a husband for the prince ; and this imagination seems confirmed by his sudden going to Royston, which is only to acquaint the king with his and his associates' proceedings with the prince's revenue. Sir Fulk Grevil begins to appear upon the stage for a Secretary : he haunts Pithias's threshold before day and, though Northampton and he speak ill one of the other, this Nicodemus yet visiteth him also at midnight, which shews Rochester must charge and Suffolk will second. Nevertheless I think Northampton will be Treasurer and Grevil will not be Secretary. Southampton and Northampton be reconciled ; and so be Pembroke and Rochester. I have in this volume confessed to you many faults, whereof free speech is not the least, which I hope your friendship will cover for that they give good testimony. St. James, this 28 of November, 1612.

*Postscript.*—The contract in Christmas. The ordinance of mourning till the 24 of March. The marriage in May.



## SIR ROBERT MANSFIELD to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Noble Jack. For your few lines which contain much love I yield you many thanks : and for my carriage yesterday assure yourself for the present of thus much that if it had happened before my imprisonment as it was after, I should and could have cleared some particulars that would have gained their lordships' better opinion of me and my cause than they or the hearers could guess at considering the way I gave to extenuate Mr. Whitlock's offence. Touching my Lord Privy Seal's and my Lord Chamberlain's noble usages of me, which hath taken deep impression in me, I should be comforted with continuance of their honourable favours and nothing shall be wanting in me to deserve the same : and to such as either can or will mediate that good unto me, I shall acknowledge an obligation : and more willingly to my friends, in the first rank of which number I have for many years ranked you that shall ever command my service and find me your faithfull and affectionate friend. I pray you thank our old friend the Master of the Rolls for his yesterday's favour unto me. I have sent my humble petition this morning to his Majesty. From the prison in the Marshalsea, this present Sunday, 1613.

## LORD GREY to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

The superscription ;—To my very honourable friend Sir John Hollice, knight.

My Noble Friend, Our love may not for ever lie buried in a dead silence. Long I have deferred, fearing by my sad pen to renew your sorrows, and instead of comfort, which each should strive to give the other upon so mournfull an accident, that both our just griefs, by comparing our private loss, (for, my John, he was graciously disposed even to me), and especially reputed the wound that the public hath thereby received, will thereby grow greater. But sorrow can not help and both our natures such as will easily pass by what is not in our power to amend. While the child lived David wept, mourned, and fasted, but dead, he ate, anointed himself, and looked no more sad. Reason and religion teach it, wise and godly men by their examples confirm it. Hard, therefore, or strange ought it not to be unto us. For myself, armies of sorrows all the days of my life environ and beat sore upon me, yet have I a shield (His name be glorified that hath given it force !) impenetrable, nay that by resisting grows more strong and able to resist, so as I fear no ill, nor truly have much cause to hope good. But I have learned, whether good or bad, to be content. For you, God deals bountifully with you ; and though the sun of grace reflect not beams of glory on you, yet are you grown, and in condition and reputation to do, service unto God's church and this State, if occasion call you on. I wish you unfeignedly increase in all and presume out of love to advise you rather to



be sought than seek, grounding my judgment on Sallust's reason who saith *magistratus' imperia, minime mihi hae tempestate cupienda videntur ; quoniam neque virtuti honos datur neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, utrique tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt.* You may hear that I have had some business in hand and indeed yet have, though to deal truly with you never fastened thereon much hope though the Palsgrave resolve to speak for me, and therefore have not acquainted you with it ; but, as occasion serves, you shall hear from me, in all fortunes have part with me ; for I know your love, sensible of my smart and my faith shall never be senseless of your love. Continue therefore still to love me and believe that I am ever faithfully yours, Tho. Grey. From the Tower, this 29 of February, 1612/13.

A Speech of SIR JOHN HOLLES, concerning Princee Harry's Marriage.

The Athenians had (as I remember) a law, that whosoever in civil disputes and dissensions was a neutral was adjudged an enemy to the commonwealth and a better citizen was he reputed that took the worse part than no part ; the reason being, as I conceive, the same in state as in religion, where an atheist and he that owneth no God is held more abominable than an heretic, he senseless of all rule and superiority, the other misled by false rules, begot from misconceiving affections and peradventure, differing only in the branches and not in the root. Nevertheless to intrude into counsels may be held presumption, besides *Tractent fabrilia fabri* and I hear the painter's reproof to the shoemaker *Ne sutor ultra erepidam ;* yet had I rather seem to be without judgment than to want affection ; and to put in my mite, how small soever, than to have no charity ; for though I be no pilot in Israel yet am I a passenger and, if the ship strike and perish upon the rocks, I shall lose all and the greatest can do no more. The question is of matchng the princee, the son of England, to a daughter of the Duke of Savoy, wherein let us examine what honour and profit either present or future may acerue thence ; the condition of both their estates, with the times present and the general temper of other neighbour princees. The motive and bait wherewith to catch the King is a large offer of a great portion of money which by our English Savoyards is supposed the best receivable mean for the clearing the King's debts. This disbursement is to be undertaken by a merehant, and to witness their proceeding the more sincere the Duke by blank hath already subscribed to whatsoever the King shall demand, some small thing (as they say) excepted. But why should the heir of England be sold ? This princee the first that ever was valued at *quid vis mihi dare*, for money will buy him, neither shall the price be above the reach of three subsidies of 2s. in the pound. Our princees married heretofore for greatness or affection and the greatest of them memorized in our histories matched with

a national, and they who received least addition from their wives prospered the best. Three times we have matched with France, once with Spain, with what success the chronicles tell you. Yet our prince must be sold and Savoy will buy him, but Rome and Spain must make the stake good for Savoy is not able. A progressing journey into France about the Marquisate of Saluces had almost bankrupted him : to ransom that debt he laid such unsupportable gabels upon his people that he had well near depopulated his countries : then comes money from his purse or his and others ; if from his own means, methinks he should not buy repentance so dear as to beggar his own land to fatten another man's, unless he serve himself thereof as of a Holland 'daker' to fetch in a greater prey into his net. Consult with former allies and you shall find, though those of John of Gaunt's line give place to Clarence's and those thence descended, yet King John had an elder brother, upon whom he usurped this kingdom, whose heirs are the descendants from the House of Brittany, the Infanta and her sister the late duchess of Savoy ; and think it not without example that the father, his daughter, the brother, had used his sister, for a bridge to pass over to his designs and purposes. And who knows not the Duke of Savoy to be a most ambitious and a weariless working prince wheresoever he pretendeth the advantage, though usually little successful, the which his often fruitless attempts against Geneva, his devices with France, and Spain, do witness true. But in this particular he means *bona fide*, which I would believe if I could : fairer words, more sacramental protestations, fortified and confirmed with more actual likelihoods, expounded with a more seeming sincerity, we cannot have than France had from him, while nevertheless underhand he corrupted Marshall Biron and with him plotted and practised the ruin of that king and kingdom even while he lay, as it were, in that king's bosom, feasted and honoured by him every day. Yet be it his ambitious affection to have his daughter a crowned queen hath transported him into a wider expense beyond the extent and strength of his means, for though himself and some others of his family have had the honour to be sons in law to kings, yet none of his progenitors have had the happiness to have been fathers in law to kings ; be it, I say, thus taken in the best sense, let us then take a view what honour, what profit, either present or future, shall redound to this kingdom thereby. In the circumference of the word profit we may include the word honour, seeing princes be of that transcendence as none but God can add diamonds to their crowns, and their profit is of a larger latitude than to be determined with a sum of money, though the number were ne'er hard infinite, their profit is to be understood in augmentation of empire, either present or future, in reason of state, by intelligences, commerce for commodities, conjunction of arms, or diversion for the recovering of withheld rights which use our

kings have sometimes endeavoured to make of their leagues and alliances with Spain and Burgundy, though the issue proved only charge to us and benefit to our seeming assisters, witness the taking in of Navarre by Charles the Fifth and the fruit of the battle of St. Quintins to Philip his son, wherein in a word let me remember the loss of Calais soon after, the crop we received of Queen Mary's apostasy and match with that Catholic king. For addition of dominion, none can be expected from Savoy neither present nor future, his ducal cap is beset with a plentiful issue male, himself young enough to increase the same by a second 'venter' and peradventure having bestowed the prince of Piedmont he may then look about for himself, for in him so Tiberius like all things may be expected known only to himself and his ends and those only bounded by his ambition not ruled by religion, kindred, contracts, or protestations, witness his so many breaches with Spain, his equivocation with France and his neighbours of Geneva. For intelligences of state he may peradventure profit us and that in France only, for he will not put off Spain for us, the state of Milan and other confederates of that house be too near him and his pretences too much intermingled with those of Spain, and in Italy he will help us as little, filial duty to his mother church forbids him; so as for all him we are like to lie open to all the practices of both these potentates. For commerce of commodities his strait countries afford none: scantily have they *ad victum et vestitum* of those mountainous inhabitants; and, if they had ought to spare usefull to us, how should we come by them so remote, so inland, at the courtesy of so many great neighbours. Yet may he advantage us much in our pretences against France by conjunction of arms now but by biting behind he may divide those forces and consequently make our entrances and encounters more easy: yet what and if the Grisons, the cantons of the Swiss, those of Geneva will not give him leave all leaguers with the crown of France or the Venetians their friends, he must keep himself within his eockle shell. Nevertheless imagine the best and him free of these obstructions, yet can he never have a sally more easy to him than when the king of Spain had Brittain and that the corps and gross of that kingdom was divided betwixt him and his leaguers, at which time, notwithstanding a governor of Dauphiny Monsieur d'Ediguieres did beat him in his trenches and would never suffer him to peep out that in effect he remained unserviceable to his part. This point then thus concluded, yet if we will assume his proffered sum of money an answerable portion for the prince and in regard of present occasions advantageous to the King and State, seeing his estate without great impoverishment cannot afford him such a disbursement, then, as I have said, must Rome and Spain make the stake good; and wherefore? What retributes, what harvest, will this seed yield them? First Rome shall reap thereby great honour, great profit, namely she shall recover her



ancient supremacy and jurisdiction in as ample manner as heretofore when for an offence supposed against a rebellious archbishop he made one of the mightiest of our kings stoop and lie under his ecclesiastical censure and, by the timorous folly of another, made this kingdom of his fee and tributary. Secondly, she will cause the apology for the oath of allegiance sing a palinode for matching with one of his flock. This conclusion must follow, either that we are of no religion or of his religion; and, if of his, then must he be no antechrist, a far worse tergiversation than Henry VIII made concerning Luther, which will turn more to that bishop's glory to recover so easily that which his predecessor lost, and in all this christian world root him as a rock never hereafter to be zapped or moved. The learnedest of king's giving him thereby an uncontrollable inheritance in all succession soever. Secondly his profit will be unvaluable: his Peter's pence etc. which in times past caused the holy father to term England his best milch cow, so as, though he disbursed the whole sum, it were scantily one year's purchase; and as full account maketh he of this usury for his money as the serpent did of our father Adam by employing Eve whom he hath bought with his deceitful apple. If then Rome be so well paid for his disbursement, what need hath he of Spain for partner? This is not the seamless garment which among many soldiers the lot must cast to one. Spain will have us abandon our sympathisers the United Provinces of the Netherlands and with them cast off all our well willers for religion's cause or other common interest; for as it appeareth by the late Book of Titles, there is in the whole world but one church and one court, the pope the head of the one, as *luminare majus*, the king of Spain head of the other, as *luminare minus*: and this comparative title is derived from the first creation Genesis the ——— by which it followeth that all other princes and states be either subjects or rebels against whom *omnibus modis procedendum est*, force or fraud it matters not. Our neighbour of France in our memory hath matched twice with the Jesuitical family of Florence and both times the pope had the banns. The grounds of the first Guicciardin tells you; this latter sprang from that king's apostasy and a bill of divorce. The fruit of the first were massacres, murders of kings and princes, and a long, cruel, war, which nearhand had consumed that kingdom to ashes—that flame fed by an abominable league of which the pope and Spaniard were both Alpha and Omega; in the second that king's apostasy was not pledge sufficient, nor his reception of the Jesuits notwithstanding their former treasons, he gave toleration of religion and suffered the protestants at the towns' end. I tell you the pope will have no rival, no not Jupiter, and therefore he must die and by the knife, as his predecessor did, but *suo tempore*; first he must have sons and daughters who, no sooner past their swadlings, must be instructed in the catholic faith, which seasoning their new vessels must receive from the Jesuits lest they halt betwixt



two opinions with their father. No, his dye was naught, not to be trusted unto ; these must be dyed in grain and Medices must have that ominous name of queen-mother, who, in regard of the youth of the king and superstitious affection in the church, is like to dispose that crown more to the pope's turn : and, let them never so palliate their Cainism, Abel's blood cries for vengeance to heaven, the shepherd was struck, the sheep scattered upon the mountains, those armies 'cassered' even in a moment, those times with these since reconciled will easily shew what arm gave the blow. Blessed be the God of Heaven ! who, howsoever in his justice yet in his mercy will never suffer this cup came to us, for I fear to receive into my thought this faesimile ; and yet, if the holy father's wisdom held it necessary to proceed thus with France, he hath far greater reason to be *alerta* to make his new footing good in England and to use his uttermost art that the whole Parliament of Hell can afford him ; a relapse of a small siekness being more dangerous than the violentest disease soever. But why should we frame to ourselves these chimeras ? The lady is devoutly religious, nothing coveted but freedom of her conscience, one mass-priest and one private mass in a corner, neither she nor her's will meddle further off no ! not into the next room, and why should we distrust her casiness and the prince's ability to reclaim her ? She is now his, she must and will forget her father's house, nay her holy father's also, for women are the weaker vessels and must obey. *Vivitur magis exemplis quam legibus*. The first woman corrupted the first man, though created in perfection ; and the wisest of all men forsook his God and with Him his knowledge and gave himself up to the idols and ignorance of his wives. A woman's tongue caused Peter to deny his Master, and Dalila persuaded Sampson to betray his strength and life to her. This is the surest engine and instrument the devil hath, and the pope and his ministers for the planting his kingdom employ no other. And can there be a more potent a more assured instrument than a devout fair lady ? and the more devout the less hope to convert her and the more fear of seducing others ; her many models of piety and charity in these irreligious and stony hearted times will attract the best natures and dispositions, supposing that to be the better religion which breedeth better professors and produceth better effects. Her power, as lying in Abraham's bosom, to dispense the favours and benefits of the court, and time, will work upon our ambition and wants ; and, though some may be free from these motives, yet the inferior, naturally flattering the superior, the best will covet their connivency with good manners and civil respects : her example will hearten all others : one mass in the court *cum privilegio* begets 1000 in the country ; and, if there lawfull, why not here suffered ? And as all human things, how weak soever in the cradle, grow stronger by degrees so first moderate spirits be tolerated till the stronger command

that as due which the other gained by courtesy. The pope who erewhile crept into the breach will once implant his flag upon the highest of our towers. To this let us add man's natural curiosity, his humour of change in diet, apparel, air, all politic and moral customs and fashions, that a bad new thing is more pleasing than the best old, nature coveting novelty and easily surfeiting with acquaintance, and this, as in all things, so in nothing more than in opinion. But this lady shall not find us all one man's children. At her first landing she will have a stronger party than William the Norman found at the battle of Hastings for the recovering of his pretended right to the crown. They want only a head to go in and out before them: some of that sex have already successfully prepared the way. Christ sent before him John the masculine but the pope delights more in Jone the feminine, and so well is he strengthened by that sex that in court, in country, in all councils, Parliaments as other, there is a *caveat* put in *ne sua respublica detrimentum capiat*. What then is wanting to work his establishment and our downfall but power and opportunity? And let me by way of prospective present you more particularly the face of this court. The prince resorts to the sermon, his Savoyard to the mass; he to his prayers, she to her confession; either have their train; those ghibelines, these guelphs; where is then that unity, that tie and knot of marriage, one bed, one board, one flesh, one soul, one God? And, if a kingdom be divided, saith our Saviour, it cannot stand, and those whom religion doth disjoin no art, no power, can conjoin; and where this discord is, there God's blessing can not come. Why should we, then, from any presumption so ever, receive a thorn into our sides?

SIR JOHN HOLLES to PRINCE HARRY. February 16, 1610.

May it please your Highness. That the satisfaction to your command might not be too long suspended, your highness having given me leave to retire for a few days into the country to my particulars, I presumed to tender now a new account thereof; and, as I have, without knowledge of either party, conferred with the officers of his Majesty's greencloth and others that might give light therein, so not contented with verballity, which is liable to exposition, I procured them to make their certificates under their hands, from which as they cannot depart so might it give your Highness better assurance of the truth, all which I have. With all humbleness, I herewith present [this] to your princely consideration and crave your Highness's pardon if peradventure I fall short through disability, my affection to your service not yielding to any soever. My obligation is great yet more I dare not say. The touch not protestation must try the metal of your Highness's most faithful and bounden servant.

## THE SAME to THE SAME.

23 June, 1611, about the search of Rufford Abbey.

May it please your Highness, It being your pleasure and commandment I should take this business in charge, I accordingly have endeavoured therein with all diligence to give your Highness best satisfaction, for receiving my despatch at 9 at night from my Lord Treasurer and not getting post horse before 11 upon Wednesday, I came to Nottingham upon Thursday by 2 of the clock and being assisted with the sheriff and justices of peace of this county of Nottingham yesterday early in the morning I beset and entered the Earl of Shrewsbury's Abbey of Rufford, where after a long and a curious search in vaults, cellars, chambers, and garrets, I found only some crucifixes and old papistical books, divers trap doors to conceal and issue forth such pernicious vermin as I sought for, many empty trunks, and standards: for, as I heard presently upon the Countess of Shrewsbury's commitment which the old gentlewoman Mrs. Markham had brought to her by post the next day following, these fellows dislodged and all stuff that was either of weight or superstition day and night conveyed away by coach and cart, some suppose to Sheffield castle, others, to Sir Charles Cavendish his house, wheresoever I will do my best to know. But, if your Highness please to remember, I feared this business had been too long deferred and that with the foolish virgins I should come too late, knowing these to be wise in their generation and upon the first alarum would shift from the danger. And so it hath in some sort happened, though by their overcurious care, as by an extraordinary fuse they have discovered that to have been there which was sought for, for not so much as a relie, vestment, new books, letters, etc. were left. Nay a good part of the servants confessed themselves protestants, so well had they purged this ancient storehouse of popery of all state exception, private conscience excepted; and I hope the King will hence ground a *melius inquirendum*, at the least prevent hereafter, seeing in this he is a great author of his own hurt. For, though on the one side this abbey be covered with woods and therein divers granges of the Earl's inheritance, yet on the other side is the forest by his command, wherein under the king all the keepers' lodges be as well furnished with notorious recusants as the granges be; and, though they be by office the king's servants, yet serve they for spies and sentinels against the king's service, for one of them, supposing the sheriff and me to be coming that way, ran to the house and had there discovered me if with haste I had not prevented and stopped him. After I had done with this confused house, though the day was well spent, I turned back to the Earl's granges on the back of the abbey which I found swarm with recusants, and in a priest's trunk (as I conceived by his note books and night caps) I found a most damnable seditious paper against the Oath of Allegiance, which spared not to avow



the lawfulness of deposing and murdering of princes excommunicate by the pope, which paper I enclosed in my letter to my Lord Treasurer that the King may thereby see what good subjects are harboured under this Countess, but though (as I heard) the priest was fled thence some two days before, yet I hope to spring him upon the 'retrife' and to find some of the same plume in other places, which I purpose also to examine as soon as this alarum is a little settled. But howsoever the success be your Highness shall always find me, in this and whatsoever, according to the latitude of my duty and affection to your service, which is infinite, your Highness' most humble and faithfull servant.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to my LORD TREASURER, upon the same subject, June 1611.

According as your Lordship directed me, with all diligence I posted into the country, parted from London upon Wednesday and arrived at Nottingham the next day by 2 of the clock. Friday and Saturday I prepared with my associates and instruments of this work, and upon Sunday morning early, assisted with the Sheriff, Sir William Sutton, William Cooper esquire, Master Dr. Snoden, and some others, I rounded and entered Rufford Abbey, and in searching that labyrinth and examining the servants of that house I consumed two parts of that day. But I found that those that I sought for were dislodged, both men and things, having been five or six days before my coming providently removed upon the first signification of the Countess of Shrewsbury's restraint, which was brought by post (as I hear) to old Mrs. Markham by one of her sons by the next day at night; only I found many empty trunks and some trap doors, brought away an old crucifix and three or four old mass books rather for a demonstration with what kind of inhabitants the Countess had fraught her house, there being neither mass vestures, new books, papers, or letters of later date than of [1]606 to be found, and those for private businesses; besides many of her servants (a list of whom with the rest I have here enclosed) were lately come to her, and some of them comers to the church, so as having with an extraordinary curiosity swept this famous receptacle from faults, [which] with your Lordship's favour, in my poor opinion fills it the more with considerable suspicion; which humbly I submit to your Lordship's wisdom. For first the front and coming in of the house is exposed to an open plain of the forest that none can come thither but he shall be discovered a mile off flanked also with some lodges of the King's which serve for sentinel: the back part is shouldered with a great woodland country fraught with many scattered granges and all of these inhabited with obstinate recusants, fled to that asylum from Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, etc., and to and fro they continually pass, as in a covert, by many back and trap doors, so as, if the



forest way may be called *via regia*, this woodland way is really *via pontificia*, and altogether centrelike environed with the Countess's dependency, partly in the King's right and partly in the Earl's right. The house within, a confused labyrinth, underneath all vaults; above, entries, closets, oratories, many stairs down and up, trap doors to issue forth and trap doors to lead into garrets, so as in my search I was never so puzzled in my life. Afterwards being accompanied with Mr. Cooper and Mr. Doetor Snoden I asked Mrs. Markham these two questions, where my lady of Shrewsbury remained at her last being in the country and what letters she had received from her or from any other concerning her since her return up. She answered to both with protestation: to the first, that my Lady of Shrewsbury was in no other place but there; that she came thither upon Thursday, stayed there Friday, and went away upon Saturday to Mr. Brudnells of Northamptonshire, to which place she also went with her; that as soon as she alighted at Rufford she sent for Sir Charles Candish who the next morning came thither with his Lady. To the second, that she had received no letter from my Lady of Shrewsbury nor from any other from those parts. With which I left her. Then the day being somewhat spent, the sheriff willing to return, and the alarm taken round about, I forbore to search Ollerton House, with which also his Majesty charged me, but making show the business to be ended I wheeled to the granges in the woods upon the back of Rufford and there finding books, beads, crosses, and pictures, I chanced upon this most wretched paper which with much difficulty reading seems to me to harbour most dangerous opinions against his Majesty's person; purposing to watch those kennels the more warily to catch the vermin also, for by old gowns and nightcaps I conjectured the haunt of some old priest whom after I heard was not many hours before slipped into the covert. Within four or five days I determine, God willing, to surprise Ollerton and some of the lodges, and in the meantime will make them as secure as I can; with the issue of which day's work I intend, God suffering, to return, if your Lordship command me no other service for his Majesty. I pray God these my endeavours may be acceptable, for unskillfull I am and unacquainted in these courses; and, though with diligence and secrecy I carried it, yet God gives the success, neither can I much rejoice in my assistance, though the best this barren country could afford and some of them very honest and well affected. For this present I humbly take my leave and rest your Lordship's ever to command. From Haughton, this 29 June, 1611.

THE SAME to THE PRINCE, about the wardship of Sir William Sutton's heir, September, 1611.

May it please your Highness. As I feared so hath it happened. My absence hath much prejudiced me, for the widow taking

advantage thereof set afoot sundry titles, one for the Earl of Shrewsbury, then for the Earl of Rutland, supposing with those who had no other right than of her creation to compound at her pleasure, but these wanting foundation she hath at the last started a tenure to the King for a piece of land of 10*s.* per annum to defeat me of my ancient inheritance in all the rest, hoping to obtain thereby to herself the wardship from my Lord Treasurer; and, because she conjectureth I cannot here stay long from your service, she protracteth the proof of the title till my departure hence, confident to make good in my absence what she list. I have therefore signified to my Lord Treasurer the time of stay your Highness hath afforded me, craving his commandment to the widow to despatch within the time upon some prefixed day nominated by him. I am loth in this or anything else, how near soever concerning me, to importune your Highness, your property and condition being to vouchsafe grace to all not to borrow courtesy from any subject soever, and yet by this addition your servant shall be more enabled to serve you; and, if you shall please but to seem to know the business, I shall receive far better measure from my Lord Treasurer. Howsoever, I humbly submit myself to your pleasure, being ever ready to lay life, lands, and what else how dear soever, at your princely feet as being your most humble and most faithful servant.

THE SAME to THE SAME, touching Sir Edw. Cecil's trees,  
December 1611.

May it please your Highness. Last Friday Sir Edw. Cecil sent me word that a ship laden with ———— trees was arrived. Whereupon I required him to cause them presently to be 'unfraughted' into a barque to be conveyed to Lovel at Richmond there to be stowed in the ground till your pleasure were known for the bestowing them, which he promised he would. Sir Constantine hath been also divers times very importunate for *piu quattrini*, and to entertain his sharp stomach, still gaping to me that his *bocca* doth spend him 8 *reali per giorno*, I have disbursed to him 4 or 5*l.* of our money, humbly desiring your Highness would vouchsafe to peruse the note which I presented your Highness with at your way gate concerning him, and others, that some order might be taken for their satisfaction; for, for ought I see, Constantine's lodging at the Tower Hill will bring forth no models, and shift he cannot nearer St. James without some provision. In the meantime your Highness's pay runs on and his work stands still: his humble desire is the furrier might furnish him of this lodging, then, saith he, with diligence he will restore the time lost and have models ready against your return. This with myself I submit with all humbleness to your princely consideration, desiring nothing more than to be really worthy of the name of your most dutiful and faithful servant.

THE SAME to THE SAME, concerning the Tin. February 1611.

According to your commandment, I was yesterday at the Rolls with the Chancellor and Mr. Connoek, and there spent all the afternoon and because the question was what your Highness might do by law and with your honour in revocating or voiding the farmers' lease Mr. Connoek produced a great book and read therein the copy of the farmers' patent, which appeared yet in being till Christmas come twelvemonth, conveyed to them with such warranty from the king as the same cannot be undone without great inconvenience, so as both he and the Chancellor seemed to conclude that neither by law nor with honour your highness could determine the same. Whereupon I replied that this lease did prejudice your Highness 10,000*l.* and that they were to blame to offer a new bargain to you on the farmers' behalf who being by this their advantage the sole chapmen would have a bargain to their own liking and so were they like Æsop's dog that neither would eat the hay nor suffer the ox. Seeing then possession cannot be had I beseech your Highness will be pleased in the reversion to have consideration of us whose only looking into the business hath awaked the dormouse and will make the bargain more beneficial to you than otherwise it had ever been, we (all these rubs notwithstanding) wholly depending upon your Highness and no underhand help. By reason of much household business, I crave pardon with Royston till the next week. We want money to satisfy the purveyors and they in the meantime serve us like ill debtors with ill ware. I humbly beseech your Highness quicken Mr. Connoek's payments and be pleased to continue me in your princely happy favour, who wholly and only depending thereupon is and shall be your most faithful and humble servant.

THE SAME to THE SAME, concerning the pewterers.  
February 1611.

Seeing the farmers' patent must stand good for their term, though to your Highness's prejudice of 10,000*l.*, besides other considerations, it will no less, in my opinion, concern you in honour to exact reciprocally from them the due performance of their conditions and covenants; and to the end your Highness might more advisedly herein proceed let Mr. Connoek be commanded to deliver a copy of the farmers' patent, which if you would please to peruse your own strength and their condition would soon appear. For, if they lay hold of whatsoever serves their turn, and demand from the King and your Highness performance of their term, they are by the same law tied to perform whatsoever they have covenanted. Whereupon the pewterers inform that, in consideration of their moderated price of 3*l.* 10*s.* the hundred, my Lord Treasurer abated the farmers of their rent 2 or 3,000*l.* per annum, which was for the time a diminution of that revenue to the king and for the present a great loss to your Highness, which notwithstanding, since



Christmas last they have caused the company of pewterers to pay 4*l.* 10*s.* the hundred and will not deliver them any under that rate, which besides the raising of the price of pewter upon the subject 3*d.* or 2½*d.* in the pound at the least, which will beget a great exelamation espeecially of the poorer, which is the more numerous rank of people, breeds other ineonvenience of hindering the export of wrought pewter and sending too much of unwrought abroad. Howsoever, be these reasons true or strained, I submit it to your princely consideration whether the farmer should raise price upon the pewterer, which your Highness may the rather prohibit because they begin it just upon your questioning their patent and when the world takes notice that it comes into your hand, as though some exaction from you should give them cause: neither deserve they any favour from your Highness who from distrust of your handling them have folded up the king into such forfeitures and penalties. Besides I leave it to your princely consideration how far you please to understand with my Lord Treasurer this loss his bargain hath brought you. In this and the rest I humbly crave pardon if my zeal of serving you hath earried me into any ill-weighed opinion; my meaning is in this and everything else to witness that I am your most faithfull and everbound servant. The 4th of February, 1611.

SIR JOHN HOLLIS to his ELDEST SON.

Je vous eseris ee petit mot pour vous donner oecasion de vous exereer la plume, veu que vous en avez besoin pour enlargir de plus en plus votre invention et pour mettre en œuvre les materiaux lesquels vous avez reeuillis de vos estudes: lequel e'est fait pour vous rendre plus habile et plus adroit a bien eserire et a bien dire sur ehesque sujet qui se presentera. Car Dieu nous a point donné la philosophie mais bien la faeulte de l'apprendre; ni pour estre homme de bien ee n'est pas exereeie delieat ny aisé. Jason n'eust pas gagné le toison d'or sans avoir surmonte maints dangers, tant au voyage que de l'entrepise mesme. Je confesse que la nature s'est montre plus liberale a l'endroit de l'un que de l'autre, si est ee que la semenee soit bonne; toutefois pour en avoir foree fruits il vous faut bien cultiver et laborer la terre et sans eela la bonté naturelle se perd. Tous les jours il vous faut proposer quelque sujet a vous mesme pour en esguiser vos esprit par lequel moyen vous aacroisties et eognoisties la foree de vos bras, a l'imitation du eerf qui auparavant que sortir en lumiere fait quelque preuve de ees eornes contre un arbre: et Cæsar mesme soubit composer des harangues a plaisir, et par faute d'une assemblee plus digne les reeitoit devant les voleurs et les eseumeurs de la mer. Orsu voila les colonnes d'Hereules; il ne faut point passer outre. Dieu vous vueille benir et vous ottroye de ees meillures graces. Londre ee 30 de Janvier 1613. Vostre pere. J. Holles.



The copy of my LORD BRUCE's challenge to MR. SACKVIL.

I that am in France hear how much you attribute to yourself in this time that I have given the world leave to sing your praises, and for me the truest almanac to tell you how much I suffer; and if you call to memory when I gave you my hand last I told you how I reserved the heart for a truer reconciliation. Now be that noble gentleman my love once spake. Come and do him reason that would recite the trials you owe your birth and country, were I not confident your own honour gives you the same courage to do me right that it did to do me wrong. Be master of your own weapon and time the place wherever you will: I will wait on you. By doing this you shall shorten revenge and clear the jealous opinion the world hath of both our worth. Edward Bruce.

MR. SACKVILE's answer.

a Monsieur, Monsieur le Baron de KINLOSS.

As it shall be always far from me to seek a quarrel, so will I be ever ready to meet any that desire to make trial of my valour by so fair a course as you require. A witness whereof you shall be who within the month shall receive a strait account of time and place and weapons by him that shall conduct you thither where you shall find me disposed to give you honourable satisfaction. In the meantime be as secret of the appointment as it seems you are desirous of it. Edward Sackvil.

Another from SACKVIL to my LORD BRUCE.

Sir. I am ready at Tergoz a town in Zealand to give you what satisfaction your sword can render you accompanied with a worthy gentleman for my second, in degree a knight: and for your convenience I will not limit you a peremptory day but desire you to make it definite for your own honour and fear of prevention, until which time you shall find me there. Tergoz this 10 of August, 1613.

An answer hereof.

a Monsieur, Monsieur SACKVIL.

I have received your letters by your man and acknowledge you have dealt nobly with me. I come with all possible haste to see you, Edward Bruce.

A discourse of MR. SACKVIL's concerning the duel between him and the Lord Bruce, formed letter wise to a friend of his, 1613.

As I am not ignorant so ought I to be sensible of the false aspersions some authorless tongues have laid upon me in their reports of the unfortunate passage lately happening between the Lord Bruce and myself, as that my Lord should have quitted my sword upon promise I should do the like, having hold each of others. These especially run, as I am certified,

in the parts where you now are, dropping from the mouth of some of his nation, where they reside. There are but two ways to resolve doubts, by oath and sword, the first being due unto magistrates and communicable to friends, the other unto such as will impudently maintain their wrongful assertions. Though my merit could never deserve you for my friend, yet because you have many times pleased to express a noble affection towards me I presume that that and your own worth will persuade you to do me this right as to understand the truth of that business and in my behalf rectify others' beliefs who either are or may be infected with sinister rumours much prejudicial to that fair opinion I desire to retain among all worthy and honourable people. For this favour you shall purchase a servant who, though deficient of parts equivalent to yours and your worth, will yet be ready to supply what wants by an earnest devotion to execute those commands you shall at any time please to honour him with. And, on the faith of a gentleman, the relation I shall show to you is no more or less than the bare truth. The enclosed contains the first citation sent me from Paris by a Scottish gentleman who delivered it me in Derbyshire at my father in law's house : after it follows my answer returned by the same bearer. The next is the accomplishment of my first promise, being a particular of place and weapon, which a servant of mine carried post from Rotterdam as soon as I landed there. The receipt of which joined with an acknowledgment of my so fair carriage towards him is certified by the last which periods the business until at Tergoze in Zealand, it being the place elected for rendezvous, where his lordship accompanied with one Mr. Crayford, an English gentleman, for his second, a surgeon, and a servant arrived with all speed he could. And there, having once rendered himself, I addressed my second, Sir John Heydon, to let him understand that now all that followed should be done by consent, as concerning the terms whereon we should fight, as also the place. To our seconds we gave power for these appointments, who agreed we should go to Antwerp, from thence towards Bergen-op-Zoon, where in the mid way Puett a village divides the States' territories from the Archduke's, and that was the destined stay, to the end that, same despatched, he that could might exempt himself from the justice of the country by the retiring into the dominions unoffended. It was further concluded that in case either should fall or slip that then the combat should cease and he whose ill fortune had so subjected him was to acknowledge his life to have been in the others' hands ; but, in case one parties sword should break (because that could only chauce by hazard), it was agreed either should take no advantage, but either then become friends or else renew the fight upon equal terms. These their conclusions being by each of them related to his party, were by us both approved and assented unto. Accordingly we embarked for

Antwerp and by reason my Lord (as I conceive) could not handsomely without danger of discovery pair the sword I sent him to Paris bringing one of the same length but twice so broad, my second excepted against it and advised me to match my own and send him the choice which I obeyed, it being, as you know, the challenged's privilege to elect the weapons, which at their delivery was performed by Sir John Heydon. It pleased my Lord Bruce to choose my own and then past expectation told him that he found himself so far behindhand as a little of my blood would not serve his turn and therefore he was now resolved to have me alone, because he knew (for I will use his own words) that so worthy a gentleman and my friend could not endure to stand by and see him do that he must to satisfy himself and his honour. Whereupon Sir John Heydon replied that such intentions were bloody and butcherly, far unfitting so noble a mind, who should desire to bleed for reputation and not for life; withal adding he thought himself injured, being come so far, now to be prohibited the execution of those honourable offices did appertain unto him. Lord Bruce, for answer only reiterated his former resolution. Whereupon my second leaving the sword he had elected delivered me the other with this determination: which not for matter, but manner, so moved me as, though to my remembrance I had not eaten more liberally of a long while than at dinner as not intending to stir that day being very unfit for occasion, seeing the surgeons hold a wound upon a full stomach much more dangerous than otherwise, yet I requested my second to certify that I would presently decide the difference and that, therefore, he should immediately meet me on horseback at that gate of the town where the lots should direct us. The names of all the ports being put into a hat, and he drawing, it happened to be that that leads to Lille: of this course he accepted and forthwith we rendered ourselves at the forenamed gate; where, being searched by our seconds, we were turned together, only waited on by our surgeons and they unarmed. Together we rode (the one preceding the other twelve score) about some two English miles and passion having so weak an enemy to assail as my discretion easily became victor and using his power made to obey his commands when, I being very mad with anger that the Lord Bruce should so thirst after my life who had come so far and needlessly to give him leave to reintegrate his reputation, I bade him light, which with all willingness he quickly granted and there in a meadow (anle deep at the least in water), bidding farewell to our doublets in our shirts began to charge each other having before commanded our surgeons to withdraw themselves a pretty distance from us, conjuring them besides, as they respected our favours and their own safeties, not to stir but suffer us to execute our pleasures, we being fully resolved to murder by what means we could. I made a thrust but came short and in drawing back my sword my arm received a great



wound thereon, which I interpreted as a reward for my short shooting. when in revenge I passed into him again, though I missed, then also receiving another wound above my right pap which passed level through my body almost to my back. And so grappling together he got hold on my sword and I on his and there we wrestled for the two greatest prizes we could ever expect trial for—honour and life : in which struggling my left hand having but an ordinary glove on it almost lost one of her subjects (though the meanest) my little finger, which hung only by the skin. But at length, breathless yet keeping our holds, there passed on both sides propositions of quitting each other's swords, but where amity was dead confidence could not live, and who should quit first was the doubt, which on neither party either would perform. And so striving afresh, with a kiek and wrench I freed my long-captived sword, which incontinently laying at his throat, being still master of his, I demanded if he would ask his life or yield his sword ; both which, though in that imminent danger, he bravely denied to do, when myself, being wounded and feeling loss of blood (having three conduits streaming upon me), began to make faint and he courageously persisting not to accord to either of my former propositions remembrance of his former bloody desire and feeling of my present state I strake at his heart but with his avoiding missed my aim yet passed through his body and drawing out my sword, repassed it through again, though in another place, when he cried I am slain ! seconding his speech with all the force he had to cast me ; but, being too weak, after I had defended his assaults I easily became master over him and threw him on his back, where being over him I demanded if he would request his life but it seemed he prized it not at so dear a rate as to be holden for it, bravely replied he scorned it, which answer of his was so noble and worthy as I protest I could not find it in my heart to offer him more violence, only keeping him down well till at length his surgeon afar off cried out he would immediately die if his wounds were not stopped, whereupon I asked him if he desired his surgeon should come in ; which he accepted of. And so being drawn away I never offered to take his sword, accounting it inhuman to rob a dead man, for so I held him to be. This thus ended, I retired to my surgeon, in whose arms after I had remained a while for want of blood I lost my light and withal (as then I thought) my life also, but strong water and his diligence quickly recovered me, where I escaped a greater danger, for my Lord's surgeon, when nobody dreamt of it, ran full at me with his Lord's sword : and, had not mine with my sword interposed himself, I had been slain by those base hands, although the Lord Bruce, then wallowing in his own blood and past expectation of life, conformable to all his former carriage which was undaunted and noble, cried out Base villain hold thy hands ! Edw. Sackville.



SIR JOHN HOLLES to the COUNTESS OF HERTFORD. 15 June,  
1614.

Madam. If I could conjecture you were as unwilling to receive as to send letters from or to unprofitable servants, I should still forbear this scribble which rather for want of a safe passage than good occasion hath this while discontinued : for howsoever your Ladyship hath honoured me with your thoughts I have been a stranger to your lives ever since Christmas last, from whence (according to the nature of men who in love to themselves expound all things to the best of their desire) I collected this cordial, that ere long I should have the honour to kiss your fair hands in Chanon Row. But this proved a dream as commonly that is we would have or is best for us : we all being swaddled in Tantalus' curse to hunger after the fruit which fieth from us. And now that I hazard pen to paper I have nothing worthy the entertainment of so great a lady who is to be fed with dainties and rarities of Court, whence my master's death and their neglect that live there hath banished me. Nevertheless, because no monastery is without a Bible I presume to present your Ladyship with a scripture phrase, in my own justification and humbly entreat you to accept the widow's mite, my poor yet faithful service, and this is all the time and my ability can afford. Northampton's recovery is despaired ; for which in good nature not in judgment I may be sorry, my fortune making all those indifferent to me save your Ladyship and one other whose noble disposition, if paralleled with power, would cause me peradventure to alter my style. Howbeit the experience and uncertainty of human things have mortified my hopes and learned me patience, an antidote necessary to encounter the poison of these times where there is neither love of God nor man in being. I am glad my paper concludes these capriccious for many words draw sin with them. In this, I am confident, is none, that I am your Ladyship's ever assuredly to command.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to my LORD SHEFFIELD.  
March 28.

This day the fortnight is concluded since I spake with your Lordship, ere which time you promised me your letters to instruct me to what certainty the former preparations and expectations were arrived : when you kiss the Queen's sacred hands, and when you cry aboard ! aboard ! and whether you attend the feast of the garter or depart at the prescribed 15th day of April : hereof I would gladly be assured because at that time I would not fail to accompany your Lordship : and yet I am loth to come till needs must in respect of the better settling of my home affairs, which covet more leisure than I fear will be allowed. Wherefore I beseech your Lordship forget not me nor yourself, for a good memory is reputed an excellent

endowment of nature and to perform promises, as it is now rare, so it is a virtue admirable wheresoever found, which with all other happinesses and good fortunes I covet in your Lordship and so humbly take my leave and rest your lordship's ever most assured loving kinsman. Haughton, 1598.

THE SAME TO THE SAME, the 16 of January, 1597-8.

2. Since your Lordship's departure hence, I have many times solicited my Lord Willoughby to finish the good work of your alliances whereof the foundation hath seemed to be so firmly and willingly laid by you both. And now lately, as his lordship telleth me, he hath sent directions to some of his servants to join with yours in the valuation of the lands to be assured; and by John Newton hath written to your lordship his doubts and wherein he coveteth satisfaction. To me he hath ever alleged the valuation of the lands and the multitude of your distrustful statutes; which, he feareth, like the caterpillars of Egypt, hath overspread and almost devoured the fat of your inheritance. Touching the lands, I dismissed them to the survey which I trusted would answer his expectations: the caterpillars, I hoped, with an easterly wind of his lordships' 4000*l.* would be blown away easily into the sea, for I advouched, although the statute book mentioned many, yet only these were in force and being which concerned Melwood Park and one other of 600*l.* payable Our Lady Day next: and because he should not misnumber them, I particulated them in a paper which he perused. But to the end his impediment might be the better removed and that at your coming up you might proceed soundly to a conclusion, I esteem it very expedient your lordship bring your defeasanees and indentures of sale by which the strength and validity of each statute will be manifest. I would be glad this forward spring would beget as fruitfull a harvest. My best husbandry and endeavours shall not want, for by the well effecting of this your state for the present will be firmly established and hereafter free from the like distemperatures. Upon Saturday last John Newton was ready to post to your Lordship but stayed till this present by my lady who supposed ere now to have heard from you something in answer of Mr. Secretary's letters. I was also willing to his stay, being still buzzing about my Lord Willoughby to have something more certain to write to you. Mr. Secretary, as we surmise, will not yet hence these eight days, he lingereth till he hear the Low Countries Commissioners be come to Dover. Many gallants do gallantly accompany him and I am loth to stay behind, the journey being short and of so great expectation, but rather in that I covet thereby to witness my love to him who hath so kindly befriended your Lordship and never to my knowledge been my enemy, and how friendly he may prove hereafter I know not. Sure I am, and that your Lordship will testify, he can both do and say well, if he list. But one thing

I want which upon this sudden I can no where provide and yet I must as needfully have it as clothes to my back, which is a fair ambling or racking gelding, which I know your lordship from your store may very well spare me for a month ; wherefore I beseech your Lordship furnish me for this while ; and, if it be possible, let him be here by Sunday night, for then I have to see you here, and that I think will be the period of Mr. Secretary's stay. And thus in haste I take my leave.  
Haughton.

THE SAME to the SAME. 14 February, 1598.

3. How your business[es] are here passed or rather entangled Mr. Baxter at large can inform your Lordship who hereabouts to my knowledge hath been very careful to his uttermost : the circumstances whereof with Mich. Stanhop and the Doctor are many and long and, therefore, I leave them to his speech. What was thence to be hoped I writ to your lordship long since ; myself have been with the Doctor, as by that letter it appeareth, but both he and his brother Michel think and to some speak most hardly of me about Mr. Tirrett's lease, saying they will bring me and the rest the next term into the Star Chamber, and that I only of all men (in whom they least suspected such treachery) overwrought them, which before the Lords will prove most foul and severely punishable. These threats shew how little credit I have with them to do you good and further in what condition your friends presently stand, unless you relieve them. For my own part I would throw all I have into the sea rather than to have my honest reputation so questioned, neither do I distrust your honest care thereof, yet something must be done and that speedily for Our Lady Day, the day of our arraignment, is at hand within a month. I do suppose that, if the lease, cancelled, with your letter be sent up hither to the Doctor, he will be intreated to forbear your lordship the money upon the assurance he hath and the mortgage of Blackwell a twelvemonth longer, yet I think he will expect his 300*l.* to be paid in. I will then endeavour my best for gladly would I help your estate forth of these briers, knowing hereafter your lordship will better foresee into your courses. Robert Richardson came up hither upon a poor conceit to mortgage Blackwell and returned with a flim-flam answer from the merchant who said that, if he had not already disbursed his money about the freight of his ships to sea, he would have dealt with your lordship willingly ; but the plain English is your estate is known to be incumbered with so many great statutes as they are afraid to meddle. Wherefore it behoveth your lordship now or never to pull up your spirits and to break these cords asunder ; which, though great to some yet to you small if you would in some measure use those means, fortunes, and friends, which God hath cast upon you and not to rob yourself, your house, and friends, of your principal assistance,



that is in your own causes your own presence. Neither do I call so earnestly thereupon for the repair of these present breaches, though dangerous enough, as for the suppressing of these petty companions who now so presumptuously and despitefully do not only kick against your doings but with their slanderous complaints and bills seek to draw you unto the bar of justice who heretofore feared your shadow and, as it seemeth, more like slaves than friends attended on your stirrup, applauding whatsoever came from you. The particuler of this is Eastoft's bill exhibited into the Star Chamber against you, the circumstances whereof Mr. Baxter will deliver at large according to the brief he hath of the whole. These things trouble me very much, the rather for that they give testimony of the malapertness of others with whom your lordship shall have to do either for yourself, friends or servants: for it is not unlike but other men will follow Eastoft's example and everyday as yet something will arise, your estate, by necessity, having to do with many who, if they be not ordered to your liking, will not be dainty to apprehend all advantages against you, the rather presuming that with this retiredness of life you have forgone your countenance and ableness to withstand them. And I do verily think that this only hath made Mich. Stanhope so cold and the doctor so froward. I do not enforce this to shake or alter your course, my end is only to pull you a little abroad to your own business, which in convenient manner you may assist and then return again to your own private. Your Lordship is wise and well can advise yourself and find the mark whereat I wave. The piteh which Dædalus counselled Icarus I wish neither too high, for then the heat of the sun would burn his feathers, nor too low, for then the cold air of the sea would benumb his arms, so as either of the extremes causing his downfall, the middle way was only safe. It were needless to expound this allegory, neither are my speeches so merely politic that they are repugnant to divinity. God's Book sheweth us what we should do and eschew and how we may use things indifferent not only to avoid extremities but for benefit also, and that we ought by all good means to provide for family, wife, and children. Heretofore your lordship's walk hath been upon the mountains and peradventure then you worshipped upon the high groves, now in detestation of that idolatry you tumble down into the low marshes, imagining yourself the better the further you are from the place of your offence, and so by this means fall into unnecessary inconvenience. Still your lordship may discern me that I only endeavour to make good that maxim of moral philosophy that *in medio stat virtus* whose both extremes, too little or too much, is vice. The application I leave to your consideration, wherein I wish my faculty were to direct you that way which were most pleasing and honourable to you. I know your hurt is still the same, as great at Normanby as ever it was at court, so, I fear me, as

impatient to be thwarted or controlled in your right. And these base country companions who heretofore at your breath crept and hid themselves in holes or else fell at your stern, now finding you asleep dare not only to march upon the bellies of your friends but as the huntsmen did with the sick lion throw their nets over yourself. For such is the necessity of the times either to govern or to be governed and no longer will these cattle draw than the yoke is upon their necks. This notwithstanding, I neither do nor will persuade you to finger country business ; I covet rather your private quietness, but, if either your liking or your own particular doth pull you from the shore into the deep, then must you either have favour and approbation from the court or else you will lie becalmed, your sails flapping to the mast, which to seamen your lordship knows is most miserable, being neither able to gain way forward nor yet to return from whence they came. This metaphor remembereth me where I found Mr. Eastoft who all this while hath led me from my way which was touching your present affairs. The Doctor as I said, I think will deal well, if the lease be sent up, which I wish may be with all speed : which gap being stopped for the time, your lordship is in the meantime to provide how to make payment to free Melwood to yourself and ransom your whole estate from the statutes, to the end some good course might also be taken for the bestowing of my cousin John, which will not be till then. How you can perform this I know not but by selling of land, which, as your condition is, is your best husbandry, and this land must be Measam and Blackwell which you must offer to the purchasers of those parts : and to the end you may have more store of chapmen it were not amiss to proclaim your sale at the market towns adjacent. The extremity is great whereas both I must persuade you to sell land and that land wherein by means of my part I may become entangled with others. If I were able, I would chaffer for that myself but my expenses have been such that I am not and I am loth any way to be your hindrance. Besides I would always buy cheap and I covet now you sell dear. What herein you would have me do I covet to know ; I will perform my uttermost. In the meantime, to the end you may the better consider of your act set down all your debts and the means you have to pay. Which done, you shall see what remains clear to your house and how for the present to proportion your spending : for, seeing you have now neither hope nor help elsewhere, you had better, for a little, live much within your tether rather than eating up all yourself to pin hereafter both wife and children. What I have said you I hope will pardon, neither would I have said so, if in true love I did not exceedingly affect your estate. Love is blind and therefore bold, yet mine is quickseeing and therefore careful to foresee what ill may hereafter approach you. I have according to your desire writ to my uncle Edward for Mr. Tirrwhit, which I have sent herewith unsealed. If it

please you Mr. Tirrwhit might peruse it. I hope your lordship will husband this opportunity and with some other assurance heave the heavy fellow forth of Melwood park. I writ to you long since for the bookbinder: he daily importuneth me and clamoureth much. Touching your godson Jaek, I also coveted to know your opinion for his leg, whether if it be deferred some time longer till his coming to Normanby it may be then helped, for his mother is very loth to put him here into the surgeon's hands if she can avoid it: for my discharge therefore to this gentlewoman I beseech your lordship satisfy this point in your next letter to me. I am lately informed that the nag I left at Normanby is dead; when I left him one of his legs was only something strained which I hoped with some rest would be well soon. At my coming away, I required one of your grooms to look to him sometimes, which if he had done I am persuaded the nag would have lived, for yet I conjecture that being neglected in the hard weather a little before Christmas he perished. But it mattereth not there is but a jade out of the way and I hope for exchange one of these years to have a good breeding mare from you, so as I am very glad of this quarrel. Now or never I must end, and give you rest and myself sleep, for the candle is done and past two of the clock, six hours beyond the reformed hour of bedtime. And ever praying for your lordship as for myself with our humble remembrance to you and my lady I take my leave.

THE SAME to the SAME, 2 March, 1598.

4. Upon the receipt of your Lordship's letter, I went forthwith to my uncle Doctore and told him that for his satisfaction you had to your great charge and trouble inned Mr. Tirwhitt's lease and therefore I required he would proceed in some reasonable manner with all convenient speed to the effecting of your desire which was to forbear his money a twelve month longer, for the passing of which conveyances York Assizes fell very fitly, and his brother Edward Stanhop's being there whom he might use in his behalf and to whom the lease should be delivered. To this he answered that he could not proceed in a new bargain till his own estate were perfected and therefore he would first have the lease in his hand and your lordship's deeds touching Ned. Sheffield's lands in the park and afterwards take possession and have your tenants returned to him, and then his 300*l.* payable for rent this Our Lady Day; all which being performed he would proceed with you for the forbearance of his money, in such manner as by your counsel and his may be advised, for a year longer which, if it be accordingly repaid, that then the estate of the park shall revolve to you as before, for (saith he) God forbid that either indirectly or upon advantage I should compass any man's inheritance, much less my Lord Sheffield's, whom my name and friends have ever much honoured! To this I replied, By this means shall my lord part with much



money, be put to much trouble and expense, and nevertheless depend wholly upon your courtesy which though neither he nor I distrust yet well may the world much question our discretion. Not so (answered he) for I covet nothing but that which my lord is bound in a statute of 8000*l.* to perform, howsoever I deal with him ; yet, as I have said, will I in kindness do, after my estate be perfected, as aforesaid ; and surely I am persuaded he will be as good as his word. Howsoever (as he saith) your lordship is to satisfy his demands, neither is it wisdom fondly to contend where nothing can be had but by entreaty. Wherefore I beseech you, so soon as you can conveniently, send up those writings of Ned. Sheffield's lands, the lease, and the other 300*l.* to the Doctor. The declaration of your proceedings with Eastoft I have perused and according to the liberty given me have corrected it in some circumstances with the advising of my lady and Sir Edward Stafford, for we held it needless that you should further accuse yourself than your fact declared is in setting down the reason why (among some others) you directed your precept upon suspicion of treason was that the constable heretofore kept out might now by virtue thereof break the doors and enter ; rather it should have been inserted as it is, that you being informed of that suspicion forthwith addressed your warrant for the party's apprehension. To that effect one other place or two I have altered, aggravating with some words Eastoft's oppression as the matter would bear. Wherefore to the end you might the better judge I have sent you a copy which conferred with the original will shew the alterations ; and in the meantime, because I persuade myself of your well liking, I have made a copy or two accordingly which Sir Edward Stafford will deliver to my Lord Admiral and Mr. Secretary ; and, as it were by the way, shew the same to the Keeper, because it is expedient so soon as may be to pull up your adversary's falsehood ere it hath taken much root. But I wonder much who hath sought to sow tares and to make your lordship conceive unkindly of your friends as though they should be too rash to believe your adversary in your condemnation, thereby witnessing your [*sic*] slender opinion they have of your discretion. I am sure my letter made no such demonstration neither writ Sir Edw. Stafford to my understanding otherwise than becoming a friend ; which, though something contrary to your taste, yet proceeding from plain and kind affection will be (as it deserveth) accepted by you I doubt not. Neither would I enslave you to the world's opinion nor bring you forth of your cool privateness to gape after the choking vapours of these places, only according to my comprehension I wished and advised that mean which seemed necessary for your present condition, which being settled you might repose as before. Which course with your lordship if I should not endeavour, though I better pleased you, yet should I play the part of a flatterer not a friend ; and though

therein for want of sound consideration I have missed the cushion and that my arguments are too shallow to carry such a vessel, yet if by the touch you shall find them proceeding from love and care of your well doing, they are the more excusable. But because I will not resemble the tinkers who while they are beating close one hole beat forth two more, while I am striving with multitude of words to quit myself faultless by that tediousness to make myself more faulty, I will end this letter and, if I shall have ought remaining, I will give it to my cousin Swift who with much ado hath promised me to be with you the latter end of this next week, so much is the gentleman enamoured of the playhouses and tennis courts for (God be thanked !) my cousin Bess hath no child to keep but herself, and therefore it were good to unbed them unless the jest prove in earnest. And so humbly remembering myself to your lordship, I leave you to the heavenly protection. This Saturday night, 2 March, 1598.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 3 July, 1598.

5. As your Lordship resolved at my being at Normanby, I have writ to my Lord Willoughby, which letter for the speediest delivery I sent by the post. Since that, I have often thought of your present determination and your reasons thereunto, for that which is bred and nourished by passion only, time, advised meditation, intercourse of accidents, even the nature of the humour itself, dissolveth into nothing ; but where reason, and advised deliberation layeth the foundation, that rooteth so deeply into our bowels, spirits, and intelligible powers, as time, meditations, the feeble though careful dissuasions of friends, rather incorporate into a more essential strength than any way backen or remove. And yet even in this are we oft deceived, for if either the object be further than his natural distance, our sense of seeing less perfect, or our spirits attentive more to one thing than another, we see not that we look at but rather the images of our imagination ; even so our understanding being imbasd nay rather too much mixed with the unreasonable parts of our soul partieipating so much the errors thereof as may also err in his subject, partially fashioning to his own liking what it would, using all his faulties of wit, reading, experience, and observation, to the establishing thereof. Your lordship is, I know, fully furnished with this munition and therefore have power enough to go through with a bad quarrel. To divert you therefore is beyond my strength, though peradventure truth take my part, yet so infinitely do I respect your good as you must give me leave to shoot my bolt. For though I miss yet something, me unawares, may start up from whence your ripereapacity may suck good juice. Ere I come therefore to make good my opposition, I must vanquish your arguments, which are the threads, which fasten the root of this goodly cedar : and, as I remember, the principal is that you cannot without

offending God continue and proceed in your government. Your allegations are—the nation whither you go is drunken and will not be held either to the Queen's good or your comfort unless their humour be imitated and accompanied, the fellowship you live withal profane and so given over to dissolution as all reformation is odious and impossible and the reformer ridiculous and contemned both in his fashion and admonitions; going into the field, though not warranted by the Queen and so consequently murderous and hateful before God, yet necessary for you and unavoidable according to your profession, the expectation held of you, and the custom of your predecessors, as the abstinence would bring you no other fruit but dishonour, infamy, neglect, and ill opinion of men; the passages and negociations of state which may be recommended to your managing fraught with nothing but deceit and treachery, which neither you can avoid with your honour, safety, nor the Queen's good opinion, nor undertake without touch of conscience and inevitable danger of God's judgments; lastly your retreat to the Court wherein you must fit your sails according to the wind or play the crab, all other winding forward, wondering at you like an owl for the Queen's humours must be tickled with all usual entertainments else she shineth with the antipodes; the lords and the rest observed in their trim both in compliments, communication, and matter, day and night, all faculties and abilities spent according to the fashion, nay rather the nature of that place, I forbear to particulate ought for I fear the stirred stink of such noisome puddles. Thus, as I take it, have I remembered what your lordship hath heretofore said to me, and I do confess these inconveniences and infirmities there, and therefore one must mince your maxim and reconcile those extremities that you may exercise your government without offence to God—First, that it is not necessary to be translated drunken Dutch for your place warranteth you, because being a commander the rest must fashion to your customs. Thus did Cyrus make the fearful womanish Persian a victorious soldier; Paulus Æmilius, a dissolute, insolent, army, vanquished by Perseus, a well disciplined, obedient, army, the vanquisher of Perseus; how did Sertorius change the Spaniards and Numidians, Philopomenon the Grecians . . . . [*Unfinished.*]

THE SAME to THE SAME. 9 July, 1598.

6. Though it be not long since I saw you, yet if my term business had not made me to wait at home, I had been with you ere now; and now that I send to you my stomach is full to say something against your present determination but what human respects can be alleged to the contrary you will acknowledge them, for the world you satisfy not but yourself. Nevertheless such is your judgment as I hope you will well 'disgest' and argue in your private meditations the necessity



of the one or the other and not to throw away those honourable dignities, which it hath pleased God should be laid upon you for the benefit of yourself, friends, and followers, if with the unstrained conscience of a Christian you may entertain them ; for it may be your melancholy doth present the opposition greater than it is and, accusing too maliciously the evil of the public vocation, flattereth your religious spirits with the hurtless, honest, calm of a private life, whereas peradventure, if throwing away those spectacles, you view the one and the other with a judicial eye, you will find the prisoner not so faulted, many ways even there blessed and approved and serviceable to the Almighty ; nor the other so plain and clean scoured of the cares and briers of this world, not always in your lordship's power to continue, nor of itself altogether acceptable to God himself. For to speak like a philosopher or a divine we are not born for ourselves but the exercise of virtue. God hath created us to serve him and for his glory ; how and where, he expresseth to us even in the temper and metal he maketh us of ; for as we ordain vessels of clay and gold to their several uses, so where it pleaseth him to pour his treasures of judgment, courage, justice, and ability to govern, in plentiful measure, and assisteth them with the blessings of fortune, dignities, and the favours of the times, that man he purposeth and calleth to a public life, for he must increase his talent not lap it up in a clout : others whom he less enableth to these public functions he more willingly accepteth, himself, his prayers and contemplations ; for God in his mercy requireth more or less at our hands as we have means to perform him service : examples and reasons many could I introduce, his Book is full of them. Philosophy also is most faithful herein, but they should be needless to your lordship, your own knowledge in either comprehends enough. I therefore will not presume to persuade you any ways your good, I only wish it and fear the contrary : only my bent is to waken your meditation to the end the touch might judge both, and that you might embrace that which were most pleasing to God and yourself. While I have here also reposed, depending upon your resolution, my country thoughts lay before me my household necessities, especially want of corn, for the relief whereof I have cast my eye upon a parsonage within three miles of me, belonging to Mr. Poplewell your neighbour, which also I understand he intendeth to sell. When I was at Normanby I had some speech with him thereabouts but his price was so far off as I brake from him, for the thing during lease of twenty-one years is but 40*l.* per annum and, when the lease expireth at the uttermost worth but 60*l.* per annum, yet he demanded of me 1200*l.* which is after the rent reserved *videlicet* 40*l.* twenty years purchase, which is fifteen years more than ever I knew your lordship sell. Nevertheless, because I must pay for my longing, upon good days for payment I will give him 900*l.* (whereof, if it might be, I would gladly have 50*l.*

abated) or if Mr. Poplewell will free the lease, I will give him 1100*l.*, but further I will not stretch. The truth is my natural pitch is much lower and more tunable and proportionable with the value of the thing. With this business I am loth to trouble you and I would gladly choose some one of your servants who were the best bargaindriver and likeliest to effect it for my good; and therefore desire you would be pleased to appoint the man for me who might chaffer with him and return me a reasonable answer. And so with my humble remembrance to your Lordship and my Lady I take my leave.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 10 July, 1595.

7. I will no longer trouble your lordship with my feeble attempts against the impregnable fort of your resolution nor seek to draw you into the dusty, thronged, streets from the refreshing solitary fields. Better it is to keep sheep than mart athwart the Cape; and peradventure experience agreeth with Tacitus that sloth is become a virtue and to do nothing the greatest wisdom, for your lordship hath well observed the errors of half courses as much discording from the politic rules of action as centaurs, having the foreparts of a man the hinder of a horse, and such like are in nature monstrous, having a *meslange* or parts of both kinds, the perfection of neither. For as nature in her true operation requireth an uniformity in all her works, so, if we addict ourselves to public negotiations, we must proceed as others, husbanding occasions, friends, opportunities, and actions, not as we ought but as we shall find convenient. For every wise man endeavoureth to an end by his aptest means; and, if in his wisdom he find the end good, yet the means displeasing, irreligious, and dishonest, he will rather rest in his entrance. For merchants must lie, soldiers must kill, seamen must steal, and statesmen must deceive, for to their courses truth, pity, justice, and religion, is as repugnant as darkness is to light, and poison to good nourishment. But whither as with a whirlwind am I transported with this disparity or rather opposition betwixt *honestum et utile* and seem even too much to be drunken with your melancholy cup and thereby transformed as your lordship. My last letters conceived a mean and reconciled them together and thence proceeded my weak dissuasions there, but with Medea *video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*. If I should prosecute the exposition thereof, my letter would be too tedious and as it is, methinks, it is too long, much like the fruitless cedars but I hope your lordship will pardon this as the last of this giantly race, for I have no more left of this kind, the rest were dissuasive, this yet I know not how to call! Those hereafter shall be of the Lacedæmonian size, short dwarfs in respect of their predecessors and thereby peradventure more welcome to you. Now to my *utile*; touching Mr. Poplewell's parsonage wherein I humbly thank you for your painstaking. I purposed not to have been so troublesome

to you but rather that some of your servants should have dealt with him : in the value he is much mistaken, for the better to instruct me I sent for the tenant ; who upon his credit with me holdeth it no very good bargain upon 60*l.* per annum and most hard upon 100 marks per annum. The glebe land is 80 acres, as your lordship doth write, but far from the worth of 20*l.* per annum for after 2*s.* the acre, which is more by 6*d.* than any there is let, it amounteth but to 8*l.* and this and the parsonage together hardly of the value aforesaid and more, notwithstanding these dear years, profitable for parsonages demised for that rent. Touching the lease ; as I said, it is for twenty-one years if the old woman live so long. If Mr. Poplewell be not hasty in selling, I am not in buying. I would rather he would hold it longer so that when he parteth therewith I might have the offer before any other, which courtesy I intreat you to obtain of him. I beseech you send me word if Sir Edw. Stafford be come, and how long he stayeth : if he return this week then will I come over to you. In the mean, wishing you all the happiness that ever happened to a monastical life I humbly take my leave with humble remembrance to your Lordship and my Lady. From Haughton.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 3 June, 1598.

8. I send my footman only to you to understand of your health and my Lady's since my lying at Normanby. Ere this I had seen you but that being let by foul ways and weather and tendering the easeful journey of the great belly in my company I stayed the longer with the Earl and Countess of Huntingdon, whence I returned upon Thursday last. The next week, God willing, I purpose to be with you after the holidays. If my wife be for travel and the weather answerable, she promiseth me her company. Ere now I hope your lordship hath received from your friends of the upper region many powerfull persuasions in letters and messages against your old known adversary melancholy, who now by this late accident having you upon advantage they wisely fear will tyrannize too much over you, for man's spirit being softened nay rather benumbed with sorrow, unfeeling the active motives of nature yieldeth to ease and rest, and flattering itself with contemplative imaginations presenteth, as upon a stage, the extremities of both conditions, the storms, endless troubles, miserable and godless effects of action, and the secure calm, perpetual quiet, comfortable and blessed fruits of contemplation. Your judgment can better shew you the mean if you would for a while give reason the steer and sequester yourself from your own particular. For first, in humanity, neither is that pilot praiseworthy who forsaketh the race of his ship in a dangerous and shelfy channel or quitteth the helm in a stormgrown sea ; neither, in divinity, doth God approve them that in times of idolatry and wickedness do, upon despair of doing good, cashier



themselves from all government, but rather prospereth those who endeavour His glory even under most wicked princees, examples whereof the Bible containeth many. But for this point, if you would have a sermon, there are many better preachers : I only, in love to you, would fain say something to the purpose, if I knew what, wherein I disprove the old adage *audenti nihil difficile* ; only this I know by experience, reading and the testimony of all judicious persons, that all sudden alterations are condemned as mischievous and dangerous, and that with the safety of the subject it is not possible to descend from one extremity to another. Sir Francis Drake in his sea journeys found this true ; and every man out of doubt, even in the best things as air and clothing, observeth it in his own particular. But hereof more than I can imagine you can say to yourself and therefore I fear I have been too troublesome ; wherefore, as one ashamed runneth out of the tale and the door together, thus abruptly I end and humbly take my leave.

THE SAME to THE SAME. The last of March, 1599.

9. My Lord, But that I was loth to slack the footman's haste you should also have had some scribble from me, though touching your business nothing is otherwise than was signified in my last letters which by reason of my weakness then I caused my man to write. How the Queen here expected you and what she answered to my Lord Chamberlain thereof making some doubt, my Lady, I suppose, hath fully advertised you. Your lordship is wise and fearing God and therefore I need not preach to you the duty of subjects nor present the dangers of disobedience, nor remember you your oath, and the manifold benefits and favours bestowed upon you with less scruple and more graciousness than upon others, nor what jealousies will hence spring, which, though a guiltless conscience will less respect, yet wisdom wills a man not to be the author of his own ill wilfully. Your lordship coveteth a private quietness ; the means to enjoy it is to perform these common, necessary, duties ; which, being satisfied with one day's service, methinks is a cheap purchase : but, if you refuse, the prince's displeasure will break your private and quietness and with your unavoidable trouble discomfirt and anguish your friends, wherefore seeing no subject is free and that you are born under the laws and will of a prince, it is more wisdom in things indifferent to obey voluntarily than by compulsion, following in that the counsel of our Saviour to give to Cæsar those things that are Cæsars' : and if it would please you in your accustomed consideration to examine the nature of the thing itself, what is expected, what exacted of you, with what ease to be fulfilled, a ceremony only of state, no conscience strained ; and, of the other side, that thereunto you are sworn, with the breach whereof God will not dispense, that thereunto the Queen calleth you, withal will be obeyed, because she will not be contemned. You would

doubtless condemn another much and hold him worthily burnt that for such a trifle would throw himself into the fire. I beseech you pardon me for speaking thus plainly ; yet, if you touch my words, you will conceive from what mind they come. My Lady your honourable mother is more thoughtful hereof than is healthfull for her siekly body, if she could, all should be to your liking and fain would she prevent your hurt and thereby your own discomfort. For the relieving of your estate, she is inquisitive after some good match for my cousin John and presently entertaineth (as heretofore I have notified) some speech with Sir John Spenser thereabouts. Touching Mr. Secretary's nieces, she long since sent you word the one to be matched to young Norrice, the other to my Lord Thomas Howard's son. And thus, beseeching the Almighty to direct your actions and counsels to His glory and your own good, I humbly take my leave.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 20 April, 1599.

10. My Lord. I have been these ten days troubled with an ague so that I cannot write myself. In the midst of one of my fits I received your box and letter, whereupon I sent for my uncle Doctor to come to me, who came accordingly, and to him I delivered the lease. He coveted also 300*l.* and the evidencce for Ned. Sheffield's lands, neither held he the receipt of this bare lease sufficient. He required Healie's assignment thereof to Mr. Tirwhitt and those other covenants and writings which thereabouts passed betwixt your lordship and Mr. Tirwhitt, for without these the having of the lease is not much material. I promised him forthwith to advertise you thereof and that to repair the default of Ned. Sheffield's evidence, Ned. Sheffield would enter into any new assurance he would covet, and for the money aforesaid you would have it provided against the next term. These things being in order thus performed, he would then proceed to satisfy your request and in the meantime would content himself with good hope of your honourable good dealing. The day after, he having received some intelligence out of the country what havoe was made in the park, what felling, cutting and stabbing, and carrying away of the wood by your officers, pales about the lodge pulled up, and such general waste made of all things, all which is contrary to your bargain and to the breach of your statutes, he holds himself more injured and aggrieved, suspecting worse dealing, and more advantageous hereby than willingly he would. I sent him word that his intelligence might misinform him or, if this were, it was the folly and rashness of your officers ; but, if by your commandment, then it manifestly argued your desire to keep the park still and with his good satisfaction to free him of it. Nevertheless I wish this had not been : the doing thereof bringing but small profit to your lordship and causing both more speech and worse opinion in the world. Besides, if the

party with whom you have dealing did not much respect you and your friends, this might cause a breach of all and breed much contention and charge. The land which your lordship is to assure to the Doctore is to be such as you purpose not to sell, because during the time of the mortgage no man will meddle or buy it, and to the end there should be no delaying at the term thereabouts it were good you acquainted my uncle Doctore with the particulars presently, to the end that ere the term he might fully satisfy his own knowledge: and the other parts of your letter so soon as I am able, I will endeavour to perform and so with humble remembrance to you and my Lady I take my leave.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 27 April, 1599.

11. My Lord, I perceive by Leonard my letters have been badly delivered, for often of late I have writ to you touching your business. The Doctore daily expecteth some to finish up those controversies and to bring your counsel and his together. If your lordship so would, your own presence would give the best satisfaction which I am persuaded you might afford your friends and business and not much known: and if further it should please you to shew yourself to the Queen that also might be accomplished as privately as you could wish, all which would not exceed a week's expense of time, nor a 100*l.* in money, your train not being above three or four. I have heretofore writ to you touching the sale of land and I hear from my Lord of Huntingdon that you are purposed to depart with Measam which he coveted to be ascertained from me. He cometh up this term; if you were here also, you might peradventure advantage your sale otherwise be assured every business you have will find much difficulty. In this persuasion, I take God to record I have no other end than the benefit and upholding of your estate, which, if I could see to be done without you, I would not wish you to a journey so against your liking. For my particular, what I can I will to my uttermost. All which referring to your good consideration with my double remembrance and my wife's to your lordship and my Lady I rest your most assured loving kinsman.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 19 April, 1599.

12. Upon Tuesday I went to the Court to understand from Mr. Secretary the Queen's disposition for your stay; but, as then the Queen being in no humour, he forbore, ere now I hope he hath tasted her which to know to-morrow I go to the Court and thereof presently will advertise you. I never saw the Court at so low an ebb as it is presently, for if the gentlemen ushers should not let in a flood of serving men the channel would be empty notwithstanding the holidays which in times past have been accounted the high spring tides, and therefore, if ever you purpose your being there, a privater time you can



never choose, none in effect but the withered leaves hanging upon the tree, the beautiful, attractive, Spring being as it were 'racte' over into Ireland, greyheads and gravity only left, which countenance I am sure is more acceptable to your lordship, rather confirming a man in his solitariness than inciting to the vanity of action. Besides your business with my uncle Doetor can hardly be effected without your presence here, for thereabouts your former experience telleth you that every day many doubts and questions may arise which by yourself will with more facility be reconciled and satisfied than by any friend or solicitor. I speak not this to excuse my single travail but in remembrance of your last year's affairs with my Lord Willoughby: he demandeth satisfaction in many points which I express not, referring you to this enclosed paper which is the counterpain of his directions to his man Harry Wright. This being performed your lordship's counsel and his must advise touching the mutual conveyances as well for the passing over to you of Mellwood park upon the payment of the money from him, as your mortgage of more land for the assurance of his money, which will draw on fines, etc., in all which without good care you may be much enumbered, you being so far off, besides thereby much time will be spent, and peradventure more than were convenient, ere the differences will be reduced to a certainty, you one of the parties being so far distant. Wherefore seeing you cannot avoid coming up and that you have so necessary occasions this term, this time seemeth very opportune, if your health would permit; but now howsoever, the feast approaching so near, you cannot with any possibility be here, neither do I think the Queen expecteth you if Mr. Secretary hath signified to her your want of health. Your short letter troubled me very much, for therein I viewed the cause of your sickness the disquietness of mind, which in men well resolved ought never to be: for if they cannot without perturbation at the least violent encounter bear the chances of this life wherein are they better than others with flesh and blood. I deny not the unreasonable part prevaieth, which consisteth of imagination and sense; yet nature hath given also reason as a bit in our mouths to manage and govern our frailty, which being husbanded with observation and experience and helped with philosophy hath framed some men, even the miracles not only of their own age but also of posterity, for true fortitude and magnanimity, through their triumphing over fortune and her feeble assaults. Thus far hath the heathen groped by the twilight of nature and that blind guide philosophy. But God the Being of all those things hath pulled that film from our eyes and by his Holy Word hath placed us in the sunshine. Which guide if we follow, we shall not only be fortified against all errors of life but ever enjoy an everlasting repose of conscience and quietness of mind; which, as they are the infallible marks of that happy man with men, so ought every

one that walketh this way to labour the having them, applying the sacred medicines of the Word to salve and heal each particular distemperature. I speak not this to advise you, for these allegations are too weak to subdue even the mildest passions, only I would awake your understanding and point you to the boxes where your cure resteth to the end that by the application of the divine precepts to the practice of life the tranquillity and calm of your spirit might be so conserved as your friends should not fear these mind sicknesses in you. Neither (if you cast your eye upon your house and state) had ever man more cause to stir up his spirits than you, since that upon your own breath dependeth not only the good of your wife and children but the safety of your friends. All which, if you live will be I doubt not speedily and easily relieved, but if otherwise two jointures forth of your land, 20,000*l.* statute thereupon and Mellwood in this danger, how is it possible to preserve your estate from ruin? Neither will the marriage of your son, thus encumbered, help him much, nor your land be sold upon the sudden to any advantage. Wherefore I trust, though philosophy could not, yet divinity and this necessity would prevail with your lordship to have better care of your health than to cast yourself down into sickness through unnecessary grieving at those things also which are ordinary to all men born to be commanded by others, neither let not the world conceit you as weaker minded than heretofore when you had less conference with God and more with men. I speak plainly to you according to my manner, which I hope you will pardon according to your manner. And so daily expecting some from your lordship to follow your causes with your counsel, I humbly take my leave.

THE SAME to THE SAME. 14 May, 1599.

13. My Lord. Since Lennard's coming up I have hitherto expected some good conclusion with my unele Doctor and divers times I have travailed with him to procure the 300*l.* and to advise the best course for the mortgage of Blackwell. Once I understand Lennard was with my unele and left him worse satisfied than he found him, for not having the assignment which he first demanded he spoke no word neither of mortgage of more land nor the money payable, and so they parted. Since, once or twice, Lennard hath been with me, whom I rather find willing to lose the park than for so short a breath as till Our Lady Day next to endanger more land for the redemption, alleging that your lordship can make no provision for that time nor under two years. I replied and consented that this, if it might be, were most for your profit; but, if it may not, then in regard of former promise you were to perform that to which your honour tied you, though less profitable and more troublesome. However my unele Doetor saith that without the assignment he cannot have good estate nor proceed further.

Which being, your Lordship shall find him very reasonable. It troubleth me much that that which you desire so much as the reseuing of Mellwood should be thus trifled and I well hoped that Mr. Baxter would have come hither before Midsummer. But I find the business was wholly committed to Lennard who upon the respects aforesaid hath thus laid it aside. It were not amiss if you despatched of this assignment from Heley to Mr. Tirwhitt and procured him by some instrument in law to pass over the same assignment, leases, and the other writings, to your lordship, mentioning the consideration and payment of his debt; after, I do not doubt but to travail with my unele to your liking, for gladly I would keep the body of your Lincolnshire lands undismembered, whereof this may well be esteemed an arm. My Lady hath been lately grievously tormented with the stone, but God be thanked! through her own patience and Frederick's blessed hand well delivered of one in quantity (if it had not been broken with the instrument) as big as an egg: the circumstances whereof I pass over, supposing some other hath writ them, and so humbly take my leave.

THE SAME to THE SAME. About the wears upon Trent.  
1599.

14. My honourable Lord. With most humble thanks for my honourable entertainment. Since my being with you my Lord of Shrewsbury is come into our country and having heard of some things done by me and finding thereby his abuse and underhand dealing discovered both of you and my Lord Willoughby doth now cease his under means and openly doth manifest himself and his malice and by his servants hath travelled in public manner divers towns in our country and among them the principal, as Newark and Nottingham, to subscribe and join with him in this action to overthrow Sir Thomas Stanhope's wears, which he saith shall be presently pulled down; and, though I have been with your Lordship and Lord Willoughby, yet he careth not what I can do, having your hand and my Lord Willoughby's already to the furtherance of the former complaint. Now my good lord, for that Sir Thomas hath sent up his answer, required of him by the council's letters and that therein the council shall find all the towns mentioned in the complaint to bring contrary matter to that which in their names were exhibited to the Lords at first, whereby their Lordships will something doubt, especially my Lord Admiral, and others your friends, how your hand and my Lord Willoughby's came to the same. In consideration whereof and that I would not leave my Lord of Shrewsbury his indireet courses to have any advantage over you which, as it seemeth, he surpriseth, I am bold to deliver my simple opinion what you may do in this behalf, which is to signify to my Lord Admiral by your letters that the reason why you believed and furthered the complaint was because you were solicited there-



unto at a Session in your Court, by some few whom you took to be honest men, in the name of all the fishermen and boatmen of Trent, which since, upon some consideration having better examined and searched into, you have found those griefs to be for the most part forged, and that many of the towns therein mentioned had never complained, as then was set down, to you ; whereupon you thought good at this present to signify to his lordship how you, my Lord Willoughby, and the rest, were abused, to the end his lordship might be satisfied and satisfy others concerning this latter proceeding, little thinking that any dared after this manner to have moved your lordship, my Lord Willoughby, and the rest, but in a matter of truth. Further, if so be it pleased you, it were not amiss to let my Lord of Ormond understand as much, because being acquainted with the first proceedings he may likewise understand the latter for his better satisfaction. Those letters, if so be you shall think good to write (as I do think the sooner the better) and shall peradventure want present messenger, my servant shall thereabout attend your leisure for the bringing of them to me, which, if it well please you, I will send to the Court with all speed. And thus giving your lordship thanks for all your honourable favours, with my humble remembrance to my singular good Lady, I take my leave beseeching the Almighty to give you long health and happy success in all your honourable actions. Haughton. 1599.

The Copy of a letter from the Count CARTIGNANO, a Piedmontese and subject to the Duke of Savoy, to Sir John Holles concerning the prince's marriage. From Turin, 2 September, 1612. *Italian*.

The copy of a letter sent to the LORD SHEFFELD from MR. TIRWHITT.

Your question being the other day abruptly broken off by the inconvenience of the place, I thought fit to require by letter the resolution of your last words (all former circumstances set aside) which our sudden departure hath hitherto left imperfect. The substance was—that I durst not. To which I answer, if you do privilege yourself by office in state I allow it ; but, if as a private lord with your sword, you shall find I will be ready to approve my daring on him that shall do me injury and right myself, if ought be amiss. So expecting your answer I rest, yet doubtful of your meaning.

#### The LORD SHEFFELD'S answer.

Although neither I needed to have received anything in writing from one I hold not my friend, especially being brought by so base a messenger as your man, nor, being received, have yielded any answer to so foolish and indiscreet a letter containing nothing in it which might aptly draw from me any

reply, yet having had experience that weaker spirits are most subject to braving upon lightest occasion, not to satisfy you but myself and the world in making your baseness apparent, I say your demand is frivolous and foolish in eraving to know that from me which under your own hand in these words you aeknowledge, which is that I said to yourself you durst not, which if you be able to remember, your own speeches make up a perfect conelusion to your own disgrace. Now to the answer you make to these words before it be demanded. I peremptorily affirm this that none but a scold or a coward would be so absurd as to answer words with words, but because I will ease you of that which I know by experience is unnatural to you, I mean managing of quarrels: I despise, nay I prohibit you to strain those backwardly spirits of yours either to write or to send to me about any matter. For this is my reason. By these I publish to the view of all men of worth, of which number though I account you none, yet you shall be privileged to view and read it, that twice besides this time I have most disgraceefully used you yet you never had the spirit to revenge it, but have swallowed it most basely. Besides you carry not so much as the reputation of a man daring to draw your sword and therefore I scorn you should now, after two or three years taking adviee of your valour, so much as think to have the honour to repair your low credit upon me, whom I hold in the respect aforesaid not worthy to be answered by any of your own rank who in valour hath not been detected. If you deny any part of this which either I have or shall to your shame lay to your charge, you lie in throat and with this, if you find your cold stomach warmed, when it may appear to me, nay to the world for I will not be my own judge, that you have set yourself upright in reputation by any act for which worthily you may be accounted a valiant man, that my honour may not reeeive touch in having to do with so baggage a fellow as at this instant I account you, then let me hear from you and I promise upon my honour which hitherto hath not in the least thing been detected that, laying aside any privilege I may challenge either by my birth or employment, to answer you in such sort as a private lord (that fears no worthy man's sword living) in such a case ought to do. Till which time at their peril be it that bring me either writing or message from you for I account you as yet not worthy of so great an honour.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to LORD SHEFFELD, about Blackwell.

My Lord. I am sorry that your lordship hath so much misunderstood me and I you. I never coveted your land but contrariwise endeavoured the preservation thereof; which I can witness by some particulars, if you demand them. I only coveted, seeing the market had been long with other chapmen, to have pree and particular, and therewithal to pay as much as any other offered *bona fide*. And these were my words to

you at your lodging which if you had held unfitting I had desisted; whereupon also I offered 3500*l.* which was 1500*l.* more than either the Earl of Shrewsbury or the old Countess offered at your proffered sale some ten years ago. If this be to beat the bush for another's catching the bird and an unreasonable difference to be made betwixt me and another, I mistook your lordship for I spoke clearly that either I would give that or give place. But I will pass by many other parts of your letter. I write only because I cannot come to you and to give a final solution to your present question and occasion. I hear Mr. Mullinex hath offered 3700*l.*, I will give 3800*l.* so I may have reasonable days. If this content I will perform it, otherwise I shall content myself with my fourth part still. But if your servants (which I know true) walk betwixt him and me and entice us higher by either's folly, I am at my highest. I will not burst and they that have known what for many years hath passed betwixt your lordship and me will peradventure judge my measure the harder. Nevertheless I leave all to your consideration and take my leave as being your's assuredly to command.

P.S. Besides in my first payment I shall covet to have discharged a bond of 400*l.* wherein I stand bound with your lordship to Mr. Harborn of the Temple, which bond hath been forfeited these four years and now is sued to execution.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to his brother MR. THOMAS HOLLES in the Low Countries, the 26 of April, 1607.

Brother Thomas. I answered your letter long since and therein expressed to you what yearly exhibition I would allow you which is 20 marks per annum, the first payment to begin at Michaelmas. Since that I sent you the cloth you coveted and now I have little to say but that I shall be glad to hear of your welldoing and growing in your occupation in which, as friends advantage much so must you be to yourself the principal friend that by being more sufficient than your fellows it shall be a shame to your commanders not to reward you according to your merit and touch. Study therefore the languages and mathematics, histories, etc. by which ladders you shall climb to the prime promotions and which do more essentially adorn a soldier than gold lace and other glittering embellishments, and be a little more ambitious than a good mechanical soldier; for to fight and to perform those private duties be but the A.B.C. and the least part of the occupation. *Verbum sapienti sat est.* This sufficeth. Let me hear from you as you have messengers and let your letters be fraught with such stuff that they may witness in what region your mind dwelleth that thereby I may conceive your conversations, inclinations, and endeavours. Fare you well. God prosper you in your course. This 26 April 1607. Your very loving brother.



THE SAME to my LORD HUNTINDON touching my Lord Hastings.  
February 1603.

My Lord. It having pleased you to acquaint me with many your businesses and sometimes thereabouts to demand my poor opinion, I have accordingly delivered always what I conceived either right or convenient, which having bred in me, as it were, a particular interest in what concerneth your lordship exacteth likewise from me the condition of the obligation in which reciprocate duty, if I should fail, howsoever your lordship would slip it over, I am countable and consequently censurable to the world. Your lordship hath sent hither to the court my Lord Hastings your grandchild with address that he either be about the King or Princee; and in this concur the most part of your friends, not considering that he is somewhat too old and grave for the Princee and too young and raw for the King. For I am sure your lordship yet remembers what touch and metal the court requires, what qualities are proper to a courtier, and what particulars most grace them in conversation with activities and livelihood of body and promptness of wit not only for discourse but for apprehending advantages, in which youth often erring for want of having tasted of the tree of good and ill, are easily misled and abused, and that, instead of help and direction, mocked and scored. And as we see the blossoms so we judge of the fruit, each man being carried with the first appearances runs on with them and, as the proverb saith, the vessel keeps his first seasoning longest. If then, my lord, the court be such a labyrinth, a place of such artifice, they of the Household are to be well versed and well practised in the windings and turnings thereof and therefore to pronounce my imagination I had rather my son should learn elsewhere to the end by good observation in travel, instructions, and knowledges of men's manners, virtues, exercises, languages, etc., he may come armed to the skirmish. And to speak in plainer English, if your lordship with the eye of your judgment will be pleased to behold my Lord Hastings and the place to which you put him, the end wherefore, the charge and expense, and what benefit or damage may accrue to him and your house thereby, I doubt not but you could be better contented to spare him a little abroad where it would be much less expensive and to his person and understanding more profitable. For besides the languages and other knowledges for the mind which to a nobleman are the greater ornaments as by them he is made more serviceable to his princee and country my Lord Hastings shall reap a peculiar fruit, his body shall be better fashioned, his spirits by diversity of conversation and objects quickened, and his discourse well stored and enriched. By which means both the King will more respect him and the court more honour him. Yet I must confess much dross with this gold and to many ills be they subject which travel in foreign countries, the body by dissoluteness overthrown, the soul spotted

and corrupted with a multitude of villainies as atheism, self love, dissimulation, and fantastical giddities. But, my lord, he that considers my Lord Hastings's constitution and natural inclination will little fear this metamorphosis, for, to speak as I think, he hath already too much water in his wine and needs rather the sunshine than the shade; so as, if you like, I may conclude his being abroad not only more honourable and profitable but necessary, by which he may learn good and avoid ill at home, and so spend two or three years which are more proper elsewhere than here. My Lady his wife I could wish also with your lordship and my Lady, the country being a better schoolhouse for forward spirits than the court, though in her be many good hopes of honour and for the present beyond her years a well governed earriage. I must confess where she is is better cheap for your purse but I would respect her more than that and above all the comfort of mine house which is too precious to be thrust after other respects soever. And it is not unlikely that by your good friends my Lady her mother might be a willing assistance to the one and the other. I have of these points spoke the more freely because I know my ends is only the good of your house and I have presumed not a little of your accustomed acceptance; besides counselling is no commanding nor my saying any embarment to your wiser deliberation but submit myself to your good pleasure, craving pardon for my scribble, and in the meanwhile rest your ever to be commanded. This 25 of February, 1603.

THE SAME to my LORD ERSKINE, the 16 of July 1604.

My Lord. If your Lordship respected compliment, I should be ashamed and crave your pardon for my yesterday's departure; but my return being, I hope, the speedier and my resolution to observe you with all effectual service forbad me to trouble you with such empty demonstrations, you being retired into the lodgings; neither will I play the mountebank in enlarging what I will when your occasions shall command me, for when I was more a stranger you made me much beholden to you and though I be a sinner in the rest I will be free from ingratitude. I humbly desire you would please, according to conveniency, to conserve his Majesty's gracious memory of me lest by discontinuance I wear out thence, and that till his service demand me I am retreated into the country whence I purpose, God willing, to ereep at the Constable's coming, to serve my Master according to the best of my talent. I will disease your lordship no more nor covet more but the continuance of your love and honour as being your's ever assured to be commanded.

THE SAME to the COUNTESS OF HERTFORD. 1604.

Madam. I have performed with all diligenec your eommands. Visited the Spanish ambassador and Madame Beaumont, the

exquisite picture of your excellent self. And now give me leave to make my particular account. The Spanish ambassador received your remembrance with extraordinary devotion and hearing you to be retired into the country for some month or two lamented the absence of so great a beauty from the court now when the Constable came, the court having then most need of such rare ornament : these were his words, I add nothing to them for things best praise themselves and praises be but painting, shewing rather defect in the natural worth of the things commended, which I may truly say are to your Ladyship unnecessary. He said, the Constable would appear in these parts by the last of this month, and within fourteen days after the ceremony consummated return. Madame Beaumont kisseth your fair hands ; was the same afternoon presentially to have saluted you ; accused her fortune that, having been some few days before at your house twice or thrice, found you not, and now coveteth the happiness of your love to her your affectionate servant. For myself I say the less that you might believe me better, words being (as the proverb saith) women and deeds men. It hath pleased your Ladyship to vouchsafe me to write what passages here be, which hereafter will be more plentiful. In the meantime give me leave to make a true protestation that among many peradventure more worthy none shall more willingly serve you, to which I am tied by many obligations, and by your good favour subscribe my name as being your Ladyship's ever to be commanded.

THE SAME to ROBERT CECILL, Earl of Salisbury and Lord Treasurer of England. 1611.

Right Honourable. In obedience to your command, I have set down the knowledge I have of these parties and their habitations, how and when to endeavour their apprehension. I humbly submit it to your wisdom, not daring to give an opinion in an affair of such a nature. This Alexander Amcotes is said to be brother to Sir Richard Amcotes of Lincolnshire, a near neighbour to Sir Thomas Manson, not far from Sir William Wray, Sir Nicholas Sanderson's, Sir George Sampall, and Sir Thomas Grantham's, but himself very oft haunteth this Northlathes near Rufford. where he keepeth servants and among those one Thomas Clayton who conveyed away the old priest and, as his husbandman, overseeth his grounds there, which (as it is said) he renteth of my Lady of Shrewsbury. The fittest for this surprise be Sir William Sutton, Hardolph Wastnes, and John Wood, esquires, gentlemen of good religion and nothing depending that way. I have shot my bolt. Your lordship pardon and expound me not according to my skill but to my good intention and continue me in your honourable favour as being your lordship's humbly to command. Richmond the 2nd of July, 1611.



THE SAME to my LORD ANDERSON. 1600.

My very good Lord. In regard your lordship is the judge of our country and thereby hath the government and judicial superintendency of such accidents as therein happen, I thought fit beforehand to inform you of some of our business the last Quarter Sessions rather than to adjourn it till my coming up, lest in the meantime you should receive some sinister interpretation thereof. This last Midsummer Sessions divers complaints were preferred against one Hugill who living a riotous life and a perpetual alehouse haunter maintaining himself with destroying every gentleman's game as ferreting in warrens night by night, fishing every man's water (by which means in effect all the rivers in the forest be emptied of fish), catching of partridges, and with his piece killing them, fowl, hares, and pigeons, besides an ordinary quarreller and disturber of his quiet neighbours, myself and the rest of the justices thought very expedient to bind him to the good behaviour till the Sessions following, ere which time we intended a more particular examination of his courses. After this Earl of Shrewsbury coming into the country, this fellow laboured to be there shrouded, so as Sir Charles Cavendish took the protection of him; and albeit some of us acquainted him with the condition of the fellow every way yet he presently put his blue coat on his back and sent him to the Sessions countenanced with others of his servants and the Earl's letter to the Justices: where, nevertheless, the fellow was indicted upon three several indietments upon the statute 2 of Edward VI for shooting in his piece and killing with 'haileshott' pigeons and hares, and so according to the same conviction, by *Mittimus*, delivered to the sheriff with whom I hear he remaineth. Whereupon the Earl (as it is said) grievously offended with us, speaketh his pleasure and many volleys of threats fly abroad which for my particular I less fear, having her Majesty's laws and the justice of this kingdom for my defence. But, my Lord! our country is reduced to a hard condition, if such maintenance be suffered that a blue coat shall face both justices and juries from their duties and that the witnesses shall be braved and terrified! Before the Sessions the bad fellow himself upon his ale bench bragged that the Countess of Shrewsbury and Sir Charles Cavendish would back him and that in despite of me he would live as he list, that he would have at the Sessions of the Earl's and his new master's servants to beard us: which accordingly he had and till I saw this carriage I had never believed so manifest an opposition in the most daring subject of this land against the Queen and her laws. The redress whereof I leave to your lordship's good consideration, my intent being to prevent slander and misinforming not to complain of this fellow's patronage: yet I doubt not but you in your wisdom doth hold such precedent dangerous and to be suppressed, I have no will such stuff should come to her Majesty's ears, I rather wish to slack than to kindle

such fuel and that the Earl would relinquish his party, it being more honourable to leave an offender to his punishment than shame to have believed his friends a little too much, for we are all the sons of Adam and err in some measure or other. And so, fearing I have been too troublesome, I humbly take my leave and rest your very assured to be commanded.

THE SAME to ABBOTT, bishop of Canterbury. April 1613.

My good Lord. Some fortnight since, it pleased God to take to his mercy your Lordship's old wellwisher my mother-in-law, the Lady Mar. C. Stanhope, whom having (according to her will) laid by her late husband at Shelford I posted hither principally to take my leave of my Lady Elizabeth and the Count Palatine and withal to prove the will and give some settling to these businesses, supposing also the King would have turned his eye to the scattered flock of St. James's, a consideration adjourned to this season, wherein proportionally somewhat might have fallen upon me. And now suddenly am I to return to order also the estate she left in the country, which care may peradventure detain me till the latter end of this term. At which time, God willing, I purpose to be back again and to attend your lordship. In meantime, if the King shall proceed to the disposing of us to his further service, I may probably be omitted, none being willing to hand me to the Pool of Bethesda because I never knew other dependency than the King and his son, unless your grace vouchsafe me your favour to remember the King of me; how, and in what nature, I remit it to your wisdom, not aiming at any particuilar other than his Majesty should hold me worthy, my desire being to serve him more usefully than heretofore, according to the gracious opinion he at his first happy entrance was pleased to afford me. Thus presume I to trouble your seant leisure, for which I humbly crave your pardon as being your grace's humbly to command.

THE SAME to my LORD TREASURER, touching my Lady Sutton's delaying the commission. September, 1611.

From Woodstock I certified your lordship of Sir William Sutton's death and withal my right (as I supposed) to the wardship of the heir, confirmed by a perpetual possession to my ancestor by the space of two hundred years and more, and therewithal coveted your honourable favour that no intruder might prejudice me. Presently after the Lady Sutton, as it seemeth, from confidence of procuring the wardship to herself, set afoot a new title for the King for a piece of land of some 5 marks per annum lately purchased by Sir Wm. Sutton; and thereupon craved order for the finding the office. Whereupon it pleased your lordship, as I am informed, to cause this honourable and equal answer to be made her that one Sir John Holles had pretended title to the wardship, to whom she should give twenty days warning before the sitting of the office. I have accordingly

obtained a small retreat for some few days into the country, being straitly enjoined by the prince to return by Michaelmas, neither could I get leave to come hither till the prince went from Woodstock, his pleasure being to stay me there so long as he stayed ; so, as my lingering hath given these people commodity to plot at their pleasure so hath it robbed me of much time, neither can I in regard of my limitation attend their leisure, nor peradventure shall my right proceed with indifferency unless I be present ; for, as I hear, they will protract the finding the office while I am in the country and when I am gone give warning at my house, abusing thereby your commandment. My humble request to your lordship is that in regard of these reasons alleged, as also in your honourable favour to me, you will be pleased to assign the widow a day for this office ere Michaelmas ; and because the title pretended is of the first head, sprung up from a ‘quillitt’ to supplant my ancient inheritance, not so much to benefit the King as the widow herself, whose mind is cast to her future advantage thereby, for first she entitled the Earl of Shrewsbury, then the Earl of Rutland, from belief of this meritorious act to compound with either of them at a more easy rate. But these wanting root, she conjured up even from necessity the King’s title and therefore I humbly beseech your lordship to grant me the nomination of some commissioner to join with those the widow shall put in, which I hear is an usual course in competition of titles to preserve equal proceeding, and to vouchsafe me your favourable consideration herein. I something also presume, not from the service I have done but from that I owe, to obtain grace herein from your lordship, howsoever the matter stand, this being the first beneficial particular I ever had with your lordship, having also heretofore received such good demonstrations of your noble disposition towards me that I hope the rather at this time. And so with my best and faithful service I humbly take my leave.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR EDWARD PHILLIPS, Master of the Rolls, concerning Mr. Poole.

Sir. I will never press you in any unreasonable matter yet will I presume, from the love I suppose you bear me and the interest I know you have in me, to crave for my friend favourable justice from you, the rather for that I persuade myself, you depend of God, the King, and the prince, and of no man else. This gentleman Mr. Poole hath much hard measure offered him by my Lord Souche for detaining my Lady Souche’s goods till he have due satisfaction. My Lord Souche hath hereupon sued him in the chancery before you, hath a decree against him to make delivery. The poor gentleman is ready to obey, yet hath he no reason to trust my Lord Souche his courtesy. I beseech you understand this question well. My Lord Souche put away this his lady twenty-nine years ago



and refusing her all allowance was by law sentenced thereunto, which he not performing was excommunicate; from which he went beyond sea and returning was ordered to pay her 50*s.* the week, from which poor allowance, with a small addition from her friends hath this Baron's wife, a gentlewoman of as good blood as himself and of his name, ever since lived and, if by frugal sparing she spared some 5*s.* or 3*s.* 4*d.* the week to provide a shelter in winter and to buy some necessary household stuff and apparel, should this be for him who for one farthing more would have let her starve? This poor lady was constrained sometimes to sue such as wronged her: they resorting to my Lord Souche, he straight would disavow the action. So did injury still multiply against her. She was oft dangerously sick that physick was chargeable. He never disbursed a penny, and now dead she might have rotted in her chamber ere he would have buried her. This poor gentleman received her in sickness.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR CALLISTENES BROOK, concerning his meeting with Jervis Markham in the year 1598.

Sir Callistenes Brook. Yesterday dinner coming up broke our discourse and after dinner I fell to play. Nevertheless, finding the encounter betwixt me and Mr. Markham by some partially and untruly reported, whereupon Mr. Markham is said to endeavour some villainous revenge and is thought to have reason thereunto, I thought good to deliver this under my hand that you being my friend might be satisfied, answer therein and satisfy others, if it pleased you, and that the world might the better judge of him, if anything fall from him hereafter unworthy a gentleman. In November last my Lady Stanhope my mother-in-law having been at my house and returning thence to her's, I went agateward with her, some three or four miles, accompanied with two men and a footboy only, a little beyond Rufford Abbey, a place of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, where I took my leave and stayed awhile to untruss a point, one of my men following me down a hollow way for that business, the other and the boy holding my horse in the highway. In the meanwhile I saw some horse pass by, as my footboy said to the number of seven; and after I had trussed me and put on my eloke I took my horse returning my way, neither minding nor knowing, I protest before God, who these passengers were till one of my Lady Stanhope's men galloping overtook me and told me that my enemy Mr. Markham of Dunham Parsonage was gone before, lingered and waylaid me, accompanied with six or seven, and that he saw him turn his horse, look back, and alight, I replied, How know you him? He answered that Mr. Markham in passing by his lady's coach laid himself along his horse's neck and peeped into the coach without any salutation, which uncivil behaviour moved my Lady that she sent him to ask of one of his servants what their master was,

who said it was Mr. Markham of Dunham. To this I answered, Be it so, my way will I keep. Return you baek to my Lady, for you threc being come from her, her company is very small. And so I went on till I overtook Mr. Markham who all this while being very near half an hour, walking foot pace, had not ridden half a mile from the place. He passed by me, imagining as I think that my small company not daring to approach him, I would have left my way or passed quietly by him, which would have given his bragging humour plentiful matter to glory in ; or else, if I had been so foolhardy to have meddled with him, his odds would have beaten me with ease : and his act whatsoever sufficiently warranted by the laws of the realm. Well, overtaking him, one Mr. Cartwright riding on the one side of him and another, as I remember, on the other, I put my horse on the outside of Mr. Cartwright and somewhat crossing the way tapped Mr. Markham upon the shoulder with my rapier in the scabbard, bidding him alight. Whereupon he turning his horse's head from me drew his rapier and charged me on horsebaek, whom I receiving and replying in like language, he shrunk such distance from me as I alighted, gave my nag to my footboy, drew my dagger, and stayed for him. Then Mr. Markham alighted also and with him three others : with whom on either side flanked, pressing towards me, one of my men called Aston being in the way thrust betwixt ; with which offended, I hastened forward, thrust him baek threatening him to forbear and, requiring Mr. Markham to single himself, I called for fair play. But he without any word (holding it at such seasons both the fairest and safest play to hold his advantage) assailed me, and Aston entertaining only one of his men left me to bear him and his two other, who albeit they performed their parts for their master very honestly, as it appeared by the many thrusts broken by my dagger, yet it pleased God I gave him those rebounds whereof the world hath taken note ; by which means he being feebled tumbled so headlong upon me as I being unwilling to underprop him with another thrust gave him way that he might find room to fall beside me, so turning back my foot the place being very heathy and a deep eart way behind me I fell also. Whereupon his two men whom by his haste he had somewhat left behind him ran at me lying along upon my baek and one of them thrusting his rapier into the ground betwixt my arm and body fell withal, the other, with his master now being got up, made at me still. Nevertheless, by God's providence, I cseaped all receiving only a little priek in the left knee. At the last Aston who was fighting with the fourth seeing me down leapt in and, as he saith, striking down their weapons hit Mr. Markham upon the face and nose marked him and withal lifted me up who presently ran in with him and laying my dagger upon his breast without other offence said only, Now could I take my will of you ; or with words to the like effect. Now and not afore came in my other man who all

this while was held by Mr. Cartwright, he grappling with him at his dismounting his horse, and to him had lost his rapier, being either mastered by the gentleman's strength, being a very big man, or other assistance. This fellow with his dagger clapped at Mr. Markham's rapier arm (after I had left him) bidding him deliver his weapons or else he would cause him, which I hearing returned, pulled him off, and forced him to let him and his weapons alone and then went again towards my horse which my footboy held. But Mr. Cartwright and the rest, being four or five, leaving Mr. Markham upon the ground and supposing him slain ran after me, bidding me turn, threatening to have my blood also. I forthwith turned replying only, Come, if you will. And as we were settling to the business, one of my Lady Stanhope's men with one of my own sided with me. My man supposing that good advice would calm the storm bade Mr. Cartwright be quiet and hold himself well while he was well, otherwise he thought the hurt would be his ; which counsel he obeying, we parted and this was the end of this ill day's work which ere I summon up together it behoveth me to tell you also more particularly what part my Lady Stanhope's men played all this while. Touching them I assure you on my credit and salvation (and that themselves upon the Sacrament will aver and by any other justifiable mean to the world, if Mr. Markham's own company affirmed not the same) that none of them came in till I was down and rising up and then all was ended for Mr. Markham had received his wounds and fallen, he by them I by accident as aforesaid : so as particularly to shew how every man was bestowed, I and Aston only fought, my other man was held by Mr. Cartwright, my footboy held my hobby ; my Lady Stanhope's men never came in, as I have said already. Now if it please you to remember every parcel and circumstance ; Mr. Markham with great odds of number waylaid me, I not knowing of him ; when I overtook him, I strake him not but summoned him to gentlemanlike adventure ; being alighted Ashton offering to him I thrust him by, calling Mr. Markham to single fight ; nevertheless supported with his two men he received his hurts from me. And after, myself being down, though himself and men did their uttermost to murder me yet at my rising up, his life and weapons being in my power, I did not only forbear him but pulled my other man from him who would have brought them from him ; and yet, if his villainous and unmanly usage heretofore by libels and such like should come into any man's memory, he would in his judgment rather have scorned in me this unseasonable temperance than have blamed me if I had prosecuted all advantages and extremity. But to proceed (though I imagine myself very tedious to you having been so long since to myself) notwithstanding this my carriage, Mr. Markham's friends, both to discredit me and then the rather to endanger my life, if he had died, spread rumours in all places far different



from this in most odious manner, saying that he, riding in the forest accompanied only with a falconer and one or two more unweaponed, was assaulted by me and eight or ten more, and thus overlaid my footboy thrust him in behind and others in other places, that myself was armed else he had slain me bending with a thrust his sword upon my body almost to the hilts, with many other monstrous and fabulous inventions which they best know who devised them. Whereupon Mr. Cartwright, being one of the reputed fathers of these, for the quieting this noise, justifying myself, and satisfying the world, I addressed myself to him in this style, that sundry reports were spread abroad to my injury all which were said to fetch life and light from him, and therefore had sent him a copy therein enclosed of those declarations of this business which I had published to my friends, which if he or any other denied, he or he soever lied most falsely. Mr. Cartwright received this returning me a weak answer, unwilling to maintain anything, leaving the maintenance to Mr. Markham himself whom he termeth original. Mr. Markham recovering gave it out he would call me to account and in good fashion revenge himself : to which I thus answered to those parties who therein tasted me that, though I might well free myself from further meddling with him, his life and weapons having once been in my power, yet I would answer him, if he would go forth of the Queen's dominions ; alleging that with him I would hazard life only but no estate, and that this late accident had given me 'experience enough how his friends lies might prevail against me, from which, I said, that trial should be exempt, adjoining further that I would soon after go over to shew him the way, which I did. Which being understood by Mr. Markham, as yet in the country, he parts thence with solemn leave of his friends, procures (as it is said) one to be his guide, comes up to London presently after to embark for the Low Countries, whereat public note is taken, whether by his own proclamation or his friends purposed unsecrecy, I know not. But within a while that heat cooled, his journey stayed, some saying he could get no leave and therefore had too much to lose ; but yet, as I have heard, he never asked any, neither do I think, if he had gone his way, he would have been much enquired after or missed, though indeed his wealth for corn and cattle is pretty which, as his neighbours say, he has seraped up with excessive oppression, hoarding up his corn and in dear years selling it to a year's day, and in living very sparingly at home. This point, though in truth I may, yet because his friends should not tax me as a railer, I am loth to follow ; and yet he being thus known, the difference betwixt our estates and courses of life will be better manifested. To conclude : Now, forsooth, it is said he hunts after treachery and upon advantage to pistol me ; and that he might have some reason thereunto he and his friends have raised the tales afore-said in answer of which I have written to you this long discourse,

having long since overpassed the bounds or limits of a letter, by which you or any man living may judge of us both, and my unhappiness in this, in that all this while I have dealt with so unworthy a contrary. And so recommending myself to your love I leave you to the heavenly protection.

A discourse of SIR JOHN HOLLES concerning his meeting with  
Mr. MARKHAM.

It is generally reported that Mr. Markham quitting all gentlemanlike courses endeavoureth some villainous revenge and attendeth his opportunity to shoot me with a pistol and because the world should not spit at this his degenerate baseness and conclude him therefore a coward in the most abject nature himself: and friends aforehand beleeve forth these shameless falsehoods, first, that heretofore I had refused him the field whither by no means he could ever draw me: and secondly had upon great advantage wounded him. This his latter allegation I will now pass over, having thereupon discoursed divers times very largely for the satisfaction of my friends and others who have had question thereof; briefly only I will remember that I, assisted only with one man, encountered him and his three men and so on either side flanked he received his wounds from my hand; that ere we settled to the business I required him to single himself and thrust back my man who offered towards him; that afterwards closing with him I laid my dagger upon his breast saying only he was in my power, and took my other man (who all this while was held by Mr. Cartwright) off on him who otherwise would have brought his rapier from him; so as to shut up that point in one word, his number was double mine and he only had and used his advantages to the uttermost, though contrary to all human likelihood it pleased God to dispose of him and me in that day's work. Now to return to the first which is I refused him the field, I will as briefly as I can answer every branch thereof, which being by his untowardness very many will draw this narration to a tedious length. Well after the offence given I sent my adversary the lie, which I would maintain against him. He thereupon deliberating three or four days (meanwhile by some who had gathered it up thirty or forty miles off word was brought me that he would challenge me to fight upon Coddington race) at the last his messengers came with a cartel, which after I had read, one of them presented me with a bit of paper sealed, as the secret of our meeting, to whom, I said, I will tell you this before I open it for from beyond Nottingham I heard that your master would challenge me to meet him at Coddington race, then opening the paper it told me the same tale. Whereupon to them I only said, your master's businesses must needs go well on he is so secret in them; and so soon after I sent unto him a message to this effect that, he being the challenger, by the laws of arms, time, place, and weapon, belonged to me and though therein

I should depart to him my right, or that he had right thereunto, yet his time being a three weeks to and so noted a day as New Year's Day and in Christmas, a season more natural for mirth than quarrels, and his place a public horse race, where then the Earl of Shrewsbury had divers hunting horses kept, and our meeting upon and in the said Earl's grounds, no man would hold me in manhood or discretion tied to answer such an unequal call where no equal adventure was intended but treachery and advantage. Moreover I adjoined that through his folly this his purpose was already spread over all the country so as it could not be, unless he would like fencers there play a prize, but we should be interrupted. Wherefore I thought it better to appoint Markam Moor, which was the midway between our dwellings, whither bringing each of us a man, after our searching, we would take our horses and ride together and choose a place for this trial, which meeting I coveted the day after, being desirous to end this question as soon as was possible. But Mr. Markam pressed still his Coddington race and New Year's day, refusing all other places and times till at the last the sheriff of the county wrote to me that, if I proceeded on, he would raise the country and so accompanied be there also. To whom I answered that my adversary should play the whole fool himself and that I neither coveted nor would have such beholders whensoever I took the field. Nevertheless my adversary (as it is said) went thither in solemn procession in his coach with his winding sheet and such other provisions as men make that are careful of their honest burial. But after this, conferring these proceedings with some wiser brain, [he] found himself far short in the rules of his *duello* and that all this while he had erred in his business, which to repair, he advised to send other messengers to me now with commission to tender other time and place. The messengers I spoke withal but refused to hear their message, saying so unworthy an enemy deserved not such honourable entertainment. I had oft in good fashion tendered him reason which he ever rejected and now hereafter I would proceed otherwise for I would take him as I found him. Presently after this I was to go to London and there, upon recognisance to appear upon a prefixed day, to enter the foot of my sheriff's account, and then Mr. Markam visiting the Crosses of Retford, Newark, and Nottingham, there fixed and proclaimed most shameful libels against me, reviling me that cowardly I had abandoned myself and had not dared to appear in the field, etc. All which being notified to me by letters and soon after Mr. Markam coming up, I sent Mr. Sentloe Knifton to him to challenge him the field which he again refused. Then being driven to revenge as I could, his cousin Mr. Thomas Markam, as it was said by his procurement, complained to the Lord Treasurer of me that I lay in wait to spoil him so as he dared not to go about his business. Whereupon my said Lord sent for me and by him and my Lord



Chamberlain I was forced to give my word of quietness, else I had been presently committed. Soon after, Sir Charles Cavendish and my brother John Stanhope concluding the field for the determining their difference, Sir Charles Candish moved my cousin Sir John Townsend that I also would appear against Mr. Markam, the same motion Mr. Harry Noel and Mr. Harry Leak continued, and last of all Mr. Markam himself urged the same with such earnestness and affected bravery, saying while he lived he would honour my cousin Townsend, if he would procure me to meet him, that his vanity (as I have heard) was even loathsome to his friends present. Well, though my adversary's former unworthy courses merited rather revenge than equal adventure, I nevertheless obeyed this summons and according to my appointment and watchword made my appearance upon the Thames near Lambeth Bridge to Harry Noel and my cousin Townsend who bade me land, which I did, then Harry Noel coming to me I tendered myself to be searched but he said he would first know whether Mr. Markam would fight or no ; and thereupon took his boat to row him, who all this while kept the midst of Thames and never offered to land, and after Harry Noel had spoken to him he returned to me saying Mr. Markam hath nothing to say to you, he will not fight with you. Whereupon I requiring him to witness this passage I took my boat again, saying Mr. Markam's villainies were such, as they deserved and should hereafter receive other measure from me, and so this great gale blew over very easily. Nevertheless the day after it pleased the Lords of the Council to commit me to the Marshalsea as a breaker of their commandment, where for Mr. Markam's pleasure I was imprisoned seven or eight days. And these were the whole proceedings with him till our late encounter, when deservedly and at his own seeking he received his wound, of which as I appeal not to friends so refuse I not any wise or worthy man's judgment though otherwise he wish me little good ; for from the first hatching till this present, so far forth as this subject will bear, have you not a lively picture or description of a right bred braggadochio ? Always sounding the trumpet yet never daring to charge, and though ever he flieth the shock yet with lies and brags would he pin his shame upon my shoulder. For at the first, being the challenger, he intruded into the defendant's right and appointed his time as for a fencer's prize, his place fitter for treachery than equal and single combat, and being by me required other he refused all : then I challenging him both in the country and at London he refused. Afterward again to accompany Sir Charles Candish he calling me I came and then also he forsook himself and would not come from his boat, so as at no time either worthily maintaining his own calls nor answering mine. Impudency itself, I think, dare hardly appear in his favour, yet this gentleman and his friends blush not to say the contrary and the rather since his mind altered him for his

following me into the Low Countries, where he knew I attended him and whither, it is said, he would have come if he could have got leave. And therefore now would ye give him more colour thereby to seek revenge upon advantage and to his more safety and yet would save his reputation therein, and that the world should not hold his faet-cowardly, himself not daring to adventure the plain and open way? But I trust this their weak invention shall little hide their deformity, and that by this here set down whatsoever happeneth every one will rightly censure both them and me as we are and give us that due that appertaineth.

The copy of a letter from my cousin SHEFFELD to her husband indited by Sir J[ohn] H[olles].

My unhappiness being such as I can neither speak with you nor have your company and which is most miserable to me by reason of your speedy departure over seas I know not when I shall, I am forced to write and to make this paper witness of my griefs and loyal affection and my solieitor for your favour; wherein yet I am distracted, fearing that carried along with the strength of passion to my own particuar and faithful affection to you I might seem tedious or irksome, which, being most contrary to my will and adverse to my fortune, would heap up (which needeth not) the measure of my sorrow. I do therefore choose to speak little, hoping you will consider thereof the more, confining myself to this only that I acknowledge myself by foolish misinterpretations and unseasonable impatiency to have given you too oft and too just occasion of offence, that I am most heartily sorry and do therein, as it becometh a loving and obedient wife, wholly submit myself to you, hoping you will be pleased to pardon, and receive me into that love that from the husband belongeth to the wife, that howsoever God shall continue the affliction of your absenee yet I shall live in the comfort of your return. The world in the meantime shall have no colour of detraction and God in his mercy shall bless your course and us both the better. Your acceptance whereof, when you shall give me the knowledge, which I rather wish to receive from your mouth than from your pen, as I shall be most ready and more happy to make the same signification in your presence, shall be to me most welcome and blessed. With which I will conclude and subscribe myself as I am your most faithfull and affectionate wife.

LORD BURGHLEIGH to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Sir. I received your letters without date, yet if you be remembered they speak of the fertile soil of Newmarket or rather the mines, since which letter I neither received letters from you or any other that spake of other than ordinary babble, saving that I heard of the loss in Kent and Essex by waters. But I

heard of a contrary in Ireland. The lake called Lough Erne was dried in twenty-four hours and filled in twenty-four more, the which I pray you enquire of and satisfy me in your next. The just prophecy doth persecute us more with fear than we should be in drowning, for one says here Nottingham must be drowned, another says Newark. Coventry hath been both washed and shaven of a good number of eattle. In the meantime the Trent is out and how mercifull it will be to the inhabitants is yet unknown. The patriarch of Tripoli that posts daily from Haughton to Newark says yours are all well and with so good a point I will end scribbling; and remember you that at Newark is your assured friend to do you service. Newark at this first of May 1607. Wm. Burley.

The copy of a letter from my Lord STANHOPE, Sir MICH. STANHOPE and Sir JOHN HOLLES to Sir JOHN STANHOPE, about the legacies left them by Sir Thomas Stanhope, penned by Sir J. H. June 1610.

Sir. You know that your dear father (most dear and near also to us all in love and blood) by his last will and testament gave to us several legacies, as the surviving witnesses of his affection, to be paid to us presently after his debts were satisfied, as by the same will it plainly and more at large appeareth; now fourteen years be near come since God took him and near two years passed since by a Decree in Chancery at your mother's suit against Laurence Wright, one of the executors, it was made manifest that all debts were paid or might have been paid, and a good surplus remaining towards the satisfying the legatories; whereupon, to your said mother, was ordered the repayment of her 600*l.* formerly disbursed, which was accordingly performed, and we likewise expected the discharging the several dues belonging to us. And though we have reason to think ourselves more neglected by you than the respect we have carried hath deserved yet, because we purpose to continue the same proportion we have begun towards you, hoping you will return the same measure on your part, than to resort to the law for reparation of our right, we have thought good by this our joint letter to remember you and crave the performance of the Will; and withal, for our better assurance of your disposition, your present responsory letter which we wish and hope shall be in such sort that the dead shall be obeyed, as appertaineth to honour and conscience, and the world have no cause to tax you in duty and piety to your so bountifull a father or in due affection to us so near to you and yours, but that to the good comfort one of other we may live and remain etc.

My observation, being with my Lord of HERTFORD at the Archduke's Court. 1605.

The year 1605 and the 19th of April, I came to Dunkirk (being between the years of nine and ten) waiting on my father who



accompanied the Earl of Hertford, ambassador for the King to the Archduke for receiving his oath of peace ; where my said Lord and Sir Thomas Edmunds, legier ambassador, were received by Mons. Barbason, captain of the Archduke's guard of archers, and Diego d'Orti, governor of the garrison, which consisted of eight companies, 50 to a company. The policy of the town for matter of justice is governed by the French king and by his ordinance is the officer appointed. We went hence upon Monday the 22nd of the said month to Nieuport and our way lying near and in the sight of Ostend the whole garrison of that, of the forts Isabella, Abertus, and the rest, with the shot and pike in their ordinances, with banners displayed, presented themselves, saluting us with many volleys ; so did the cannon from the ramparts and the other little seenees upon the passages. Mons. d'Orison is the governor, the whole garrison is 3,000. And so passing along we were brought into Nieuport with a convoy of 100 horse, where by the guard of the port, when we entered, and the gross in the market place, and the cannon from the fortifications, we were greeted ; and received by the governor Don Pietro de Galega, who entertained us after supper with many fireworks some upon cords, others in wheels, etc. This garrison likewise is of 400. The town is poor and ruinous, inhabited most by soldiers. Thence to Bruges being convoyed (besides some companies of foot, by reason of the marshes and covertness of the passage, till we came to the open country) with 500 horse at the least, where the burgesses putting themselves in arms within and without the ports received us with volleys of small shot and Mons. de Groseilles, the hault bailie of the town and grand of Flanders, accompanied us to the lodging, where after some little while the magistrates by their town clerk presented their welcome with a short French harangue which was expounded with a fair present of fish, six wild boar pies, and a vessel of wine : then also came the Count de Bouquoy, superintendent of all the artillery and fortifications of Flanders, accompanied with all the captains of the horse troops. We stayed here the next day, saw the State House and the Archduke's and thence we went to their fountain—an excellent waterwork, which by a rare artifice of wheels, the one serving the other, by certain chain pumps filling some cisterns, distributes the water in many pipes for the use of all the public places of the town ; and here mounting the rampart we traversed the most of that 'recinet' being for the most part new begun some few platforms lately put out. The rampier so straight, little thicker than the parapet, the whole without cannon : the ditch the strongest, the broader for being double. These works they began since the taking of Sluce ; having admitted lately for fear of that neighbourhood a garrison of 800. This country of Flanders since the taking of Sluce payeth to the States 20,000*l.* *per annum* contribution, besides 12000*l.* a month to the Archduke, in which gross is

comprehended their chimney duty which is each a florin of our money 2s. The morrow after we removed and lodged at Gaunt, marching the whole way like a little army, flanked, fronted, and reared, with troops, the baggage trotting before and we in the midst. The country seemed for the most part desolate, little habitation, many goodly houses ruined, and those few that were stuffed with guards, some horse, some foot, and, as it seemed, the owners fled to the cities. This city is of a large circuit, better built than peopled: their State House a stately work, the new addition after the Italian architecture, double columns between every window. When it is finished I think it not inferior to any in Europe for beauty and capacity. The situation of this town is most beautiful, interlaced with four goodly and portable rivers to all the adjacent parts, ereeping as it were out of a faire and spacious campagne. This night here spent, we parted to Alst, issuing forth of the port of Brussels, upon which the citadel is planted to command the town, which we entered with our coaches, saw the governor's and the munition houses, which be somewhat improperly bestowed under vaults, seeming some church-work; albeit plentiful provision of all necessities; the fort we walked round, it consisteth of five bulwarks, that next the town, ruinous, and so continuing neglected because the town rampiers are defaced, yet every angle well stored with artillery. At our entrance and waygate we were saluted with volleys of shot. The garrison is 500, all in one company, one captain, one *alfier* four sergeants, twenty-four corporals, and Don Augustin d'Erera is the castellan, who then was at Brussels where I saw him. Here we entered into a land of peace. The Count de Bouquoy returned, dismissed our convoys, and lodged at Alst, a pretty town without garrison save that the burghers keep a voluntary, small, disorderly, watch. Mons. de Sassi is the hault bailiff, and the appeal of their justice is to Ghent. Here the Prince de Ligneo and some gallants of the Court received us and, so accompanied, within a mile of Brussels, all the grandes of the Court, the Duke d'Ascott, and d'Aumale, the Princes of Palæstrina and Caserta, the Counts d'Arimberg, Frederick de Nassau, Octavio Visconte, Theodoro Trivulsi, and Don Lewis de Velaasco, with many others met us.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR MICHAEL STANHOPE, and therein a breviary of the Earl of Hertford's embassy to the Archduke and those passages. *Anno Domini* 1605.

Browne, my cousin Bevercotes man, told me he would call on me on his way towards London and I according to my business resolved of some letters for him this morning, all which I neglect by reason of some present occasions which pull me from home save this scribble to you. And that you may know that I am not *de pazzi a chi si mostra la Virgine Maria*, I hope I may without offence protest and forswear hereafter all

servingmen's employments, for for no other, as Sir John Brook can tell you, did our little man and great bladder take us. And yet, if the King had not accompanied that complemental representative, tied with a more substantial train, peradventure more faults had been committed and those few had bred more dishonour, for by those sent abroad our nation is judged and when the fish's head stinketh the body is thrown out of the doors. I will not further rave in these particulars, Sir Ed. Gorge can say something and this in generality I speak to you, not desiring that others should know that either I disliked ought in this journey or that ought was to be ill censured. Of my Lord of Hertford I ever had an indifferent opinion as a person nothing pertinent to my examination ; yet, unless I had been blind, upon the first sight I must needs see what you had before seen. My end was, with my obedience to the King's command, a little to understand that neighbour court, the rather upon this new marriage, where so many several nations and humours concurred ; and now that I fall upon this point, though peradventure I shall be so far from adding to what you have heard, as I shall with Adam confess and discover my nakedness, yet (according to my apprehensive) will I make you a cursory relation the more pardonable because you demand it. And therefore beginning at Canterbury (whither Chaucer and his company pilgrimaged from their inn in Southwark) where I found our ambassador, I began to judge the harvest in the blade, for his salutations were fashioned like an ill French leg without calf, or small, to every one the same. And on the morrow when we should take our post horses his trumpeters and grooms had choice before us, and I not willing to walk afoot thence to Dover was forced to take another man's horse forth of the stable while my Lords, coached together, were upon the way. The day after, we embarked and after twenty-four hours patience aboard the *Vanguard* we came to an anchor somewhat short of the shoals before Dunkirk, when my Lord of Hertford with his two Lords, shifted into a luggage boat, and Sir Thomas Edmunds, more ambassador like, accompanied with Sir Harry Carew, myself and the better part of the train, was brought ashore by the *Lion's Whelp* ; and as we passed by the Hollanders, that ordinarily ride before that road to catch up stragglers, saluted us with all their cannon, the town likewise with what was planted upon the rampiers and such shipping as lay in their harbour. Mons. Barbason, captain of the Archduke's guard of archers, there received us and together with the Governor Don Diego d'Orti, a Spaniard, accompanied my Lord of Hertford to his lodging. Here we rested Sunday ; when the afternoon, we went upon the rampiers, where I found much good English cannon which was said brought from Calais. I held this a lean survey and left this company and went about the town without, whereby I considered better the strength landward and seaward ; within itself for ditch or



rampier methought weak, by the natural site better defended, less accessible by sea by reason of the shallowness, and safer by land by divers sluices by which they might drown the country about. The garrison consists of Walloons and Spaniards, the Spaniards better apparelled and armed, the whole number 800. Those two nights I stayed there I saw the watch set in their *parado* place before the guard-house, and methought their arms, persons, and apparel were better than their discipline, yet in this this governor is esteemed to excell all his fellows in these provinces. Hence put into a coach of 'louage' the ambassadors, Barbason, and the two Milords in the Archduke's coach, the physician, pothecary, chaplains, and divers other ordinary servants, bestowed in the Earl's coaches, we were by the convoy of horse esteemed and offered to be severed from these five to the baggage, if we had not disputed our right to be other than the rank where they found us, and so we lodged that night at Nieuport by the way being saluted by all the garrison of Ostend, and the forts, shot and pike, and from the walls with all their cannons. We were received by the governor Don Pierro de Galega who invited me to supper and at night entertained us with fireworks. The town seems poor and ruinous inhabited merely by soldiers, the best fortified of any I saw, fair large bulwarks but few cannon and among those some English. The next day we came to Bruges, being convoyed by reason of the neighbourhood of Sluce with 500 horse. The country for the most part desolate, many goodly houses by the way defaced and forsaken, in effect little habitation save in some few little sconces upon passages: the burghers received us with some volleys of shot, the hault baily (for they have no governor) Mons. de Grousilles accompanied the ambassador to his lodging, whither after some little repose the magistrates of the town resorted and presented their welcome by their town clerk, with some six or eight wild boar pies, etc., whereof half I wished at Haughton and the other half I think would do you no hurt, and till I came home and found no smell of them I was in hope my wish had blown some hither, for what became of them after that hour none of that company ever knew, I mean of us followers. Soon after came the Count de Bouquoy, superintendent-general of all the fortifications in Flanders, accompanied with the captains of the horse troops and others. The next day we rested here, saw the town and some few things remarkable, besides the fountain an excellent engine whereof the ground wheel, turned about with one horse, yields motion to the others and they, drawing up some chain pumps by an excellent artifice from a very low place, distributed the water into several pipes which serve all the public places of the town. This town lying open to Sluce, Dam only being betwixt, begins to fortify but to small purpose, the works being strait and weak, naked of artillery; and of late they have, upon this fear, admitted a garrison of 800. Hence to Ghent, marching rather

like a little army, flanked, fronted, and reared, with horse, the baggage trotting before and we in the midst. This town is of a great eircuit, better built than peopled. The better to view it, I mounted their cloek house whenee I discovered the whole cuntry without impediment as far as my sight could extend, a beautifull situation interlaced with four rivers, upon the port of Brussels the eitadel there, planted to command the town, which in passing by we saw, aecompanied with an officer did tread it round : the fort containeth five bulwarks, whereof one next the town is ruinous, the rampiers are well stored with artillery, and within a good provision house well stuffed with all necessary munition. Don Augustin d'Erera is the Governor or eastellan, one company of 500. He was at Brussels where I found him and grew in good aequaintanee with him. Here we entered into a land of peace, dismissed our eonvoy, and lodged next at Alst where the Princee de Ligni with some gallants of the Court receeived us. This is a pretty town without garrison save that the burghers keep a small, disorderly, wateh ; Monsieur de Sassi is the Hault Bailly, and the appeal of their justiee is to Ghent. Henee at length have I eondueted you to Brussels, where an English mile from that town all the grandees and gallants of the Court met us, aecording to the diversity of our coneptions, in different fashion : my Lord of Hertford and the most of his upon their sea beaten, Seottish saddled, nags ; myself, Sir John Brook, and some others (that in this triumphant company eoveted to hide our nakedness) in our hired eoach passed along, meeting upon the way the Dukes d'Aseot and d'Aumale, the Princee of Palestrina and Caserta, the Count c.'Arimberg, Don Lewis de Velaseo, the Count Frederik de Nassau, Ottavio Viseonte, Theodor Trivulsi and many others, each couple ranking an Englishman betwixt them, eame into the town with such a peal of thunder, rain, and lightning, as seldom I have seen a greater, all whieh from under my dry lodging I heard and saw with no small contentment, not beecause my fellows were wet but beecause the others' bravery was so humbled as none now could see great difference. What hereafter happened, though I had more paper, were superfluous : you have had all from better mouths related. Passing by this little, the second audienee when Sir Thomas Edmunds was presented was so private as by my Lord of Hertford's eall the two Barons were only let enter, yet I near the door and more impudent through euriosity pressed in, and under the favour of my other'day's aecess and general note then taken passed in weleomed and uncontrolled. Others were uneivilly thrust forth, whereat I spared not to speak a little, yet blaming rather my Lord of Hertford, whose negleets to us would fill up a whole volume ; and yet Sir Edward Gorge ean tell you where some of us discharged good serviee to the King and steaded him, as at the first triumph in the market place when the Spanish ambassador coloured with the name of one of the judges of

those sports sat betwixt him and the Archduke ; and though, when the Archduke himself being an aetor at the barriers this ambassador served for a whiffler and on the Archduke's behalf presented my Lord of Hertford with a prize for my Lady his wife, yet that being an offiee of serviee as to his master's house (in regard of the Infanta) did not blot forth the other day's preeedeney. I am no horse-fly and feed not upon others' errors : this I have writ to satisfy that part of your letter. As for the entertainments, in all partiueulars were most magnifieent triumphs, masques, and balls, aeted by the Arehduke assisted with the greatest Princees of the Court ; and, if any of ourselves were (through the offieers mistaking) distasted at any time, that proceeded from my Lord of Hertford's neglect. Yet to him we made no show of feeling ; save that at our landing at Antwerp his pages and ordinary servants having taken up the eoaches and thereby the President Richardot's son, Sir John Brook, and myself being driven to foot it thence to the lodging a good English mile, I told my Lord of Hertford the abuse, in French, because the strangers present should understand both him and us, and withal expressed in what nature the King sent us. Yet this bettered the matter little, for thencee for Flushing he embarked us in a luggage boat with his trunks, footmen, and servants, by his proclamation forbidding any to boat with him but my Lord Say, and yet then nothing remained to him of an ambassador but his return to the Court. I would particularize more the feastings and entertainments but, lest I should make a book, I must end. This know in general that the Arehduke could not have added more to the King's own person, which not only in himself and the Infanta but in all his servants was expressed in all kinds belonging to a hearty weleome. Myself and Jaek receeived many good testimonies of favour. The Infanta and the Arehduke so oft as they saw him ealled him to them, making infinitely much of him, yet this little man eseaped not my little Lord's displeasure, blaming him that he bowed not low enough when the Archduke spoke to him. The shrewd boy answered that he 'eurehied' as low as he could unless he kneeled and that he thought only to the king of England. I must not speak of my observations from Brussels to Antwerp, the eitadel there, and thencee to Flushing : if I have tired you, blame yourself ; and so with my wife's and mine own best remembranees to yourself and my aunt, my Lady Read, and our little pretty cousins, I rest your assured loving nephew. Haughton, 10 June, 1605.

The COUNTESS of HUNTINGDON to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

5. If you deceive your trust in discharging the part of an earnest solieitor to my Lady for her Ladyship's pieture you debar me of much happiness since I have left you to plead for myself and only pray your persuasions may prevail to make me fortunate in enjoying it, therefore for pity be eareful in the



performance of this favour, the hope of which truth in you ties me to rest your faithful, loving, friend ever, Elizabeth Huntington.

LADY HATTON to THE SAME.

The superscription :—To my noble friend Sir John Holles.

Sir, I read in your letter wherein I joy because you say it is your third letter, but if I have been so often in your thoughts it is more than you shall be in mine, if I can choose, except I may sometimes see you, myself being the unfortunate creature of this world. Some of my friends I cannot see and myself miserable in living beyond others, but I am entering into a saying which I will rather choose to end abruptly than trouble your Court ears with my complaints but only that I cannot see you, which in your forbearing to do you leave to see her that faithfully loves, Elizabeth Hatton.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON to THE SAME.

The superscription :—To my much respected cousin Sir John Holles.

6. Worthy Trustee, At this time if I leave my friends unsaluted, I have a just excuse my fear to endanger any with my lines ; yet since you will venture to view them I cannot be silent, both to acknowledge your kindness by your last remembrance and to assure you that as yet, I thank God, we are all here very well and not any sick in the house where he died, so as I hope in God the infection will soon be past, though in the boy's sickness many were with him which maketh me rest uncertain till time give greater comfort, yet as free from causeless fear as you wish. And thus praying these few lines may want power to infect you I rest your faithful 'trustee,' Elizabeth Huntington.

SIR JOHN DIGBY, the King's Ambassador in Spain to SIR JOHN HOLLES, from Madrid, 26 May, 1613 *stilo vecchio*.

Noble Sir John Holles. Instead of a long letter, by this bearer you shall receive a long relation of all things that pass here worthy your knowledge. He is your ancient friend and acquaintance, which being joined with my entreaties, I know he will deal freely with you so that there will only remain to me to give assurance of that which you shall never have cause to doubt of, which is that in all occasions you shall not find a faithfuller friend and servant unto you than myself, for such I unfeignedly proffer myself unto you and for such you shall do me wrong if you do not esteem me. God have you in his keeping and send you in all things as I wish you and you deserve ! Your most affectionate to do you service, John Digby.

THE SAME to THE SAME. Madrid, the 22 April, 1613.

The bearer hereof being my secretary will make my letter much the shorter for that I have commanded him to attend you and to give you perfect relation of all things here worthy your knowledge. I only reserve for this letter the assurance of my love and friendship unto you which I hope you judge to be of that quality that you will esteeme it as sincere, though you should retire into Nottinghamshire, as it was when you were powerful in the Prince's Court : for I never esteemed Sir John Holles for any use or private end, but honoured him for his own worth. If the sense of my own loss by the Prince's death almost dead the feelings of any other man's, I should be extraordinarily sensible of yours, as of his whom about him I most loved. Not that your misery thereby is equal to many's, though that grief may be. I will not essay to comfort you which your own wisdom can best do, but I am confident God will send you new means to raise your worth and deservings to the highest that in that former course you could have pretended, the which from my heart I earnestly wish. Let me entreat you to do me the favour that I may understand how you dispose of yourself, but chiefly that you retain me in your love and good opinion. It may fall out that we may be useful friends one to another : faithfull ones I doubt not but we shall ever be. So wishing unto you as much good as unto myself I rest your assured friend to serve you, John Digby.

THE SAME to THE SAME. The 20th of June, 1612. Madrid.

Sir, These lines will only advertise you of the safe receipt of your two last letters, bearing date the 15 and 29 of May, and give you thanks for the continuance of your love. I hope we shall live not only to be honest and faithfull friends but also usefull friends one to another. I shall shortly despatch away a servant of mine own ; by him I will promise you a long letter. For the present I wish you as to myself. Your servant, John Digby.

P.S.—I would not send you such a piece of a letter but that I hope, if my servant outgo it not, he will not be many days after it.

THE SAME to THE SAME. Madrid, 2 July, 1612.

Noble Sir John Holles, My last letters unto you bore date the 20th of June which I conceive will hardly arrive before these for that this messenger is a servant of mine own whom I have despatched with diligence and by whom I will expect to hear very particularly from you, this conveyance being so secure. The first thing that I will entreat from you is that, because the loss of my Lord Treasurer hath, I conceive, strangely altered the motion of our kingdom, that you will like a friend let me know by what intelligences our spheres now move. Secondly,

I entreat you to be such a friend as Plutarch speaks of, to be a true glass to represent his friend truly unto himself, as well his blemishes, his moles, and warts, as his good features. I would have you let me hear my faults and errors, and withal the true opinion as near as you can gather that the King and Prince and other great ones hold of me. Herein you need not to fear the using of freeness to a friend of whose discretion and honesty I conceive you are sufficiently persuaded. The particulars of news which from hence I can send you are at this time very short and naked, only we are now busied in the preparation of triumphs, having proclaimed a solemn feast day for the election of the new emperor, and expecting within two or three days the arrival of our great French ambassador. I hear that there hath been great quarrels amongst his company on the way and that divers principal gentlemen have left him and are returned. Since his coming into Spain he hath had a very unlucky accident befallen him. A company of Spanish soldiers met with his troops on the way; the French lacqueys which were three or four hundred in number began to give ill language and to scoff at them, and some of the young French gallants cried *ça ça chargons !* and so putting spurs to their horses charged them scornfully with their *quita-soles* which they carried in their hands to keep away the sun. The Spanish soldiers thinking this a great indignity struck many of them from their horses, whereupon they all fell together by the ears and many of the French were hurt. The Duke himself came to the skirmish but the Spaniards seeing the French too many for them in number retired themselves to a church and hung out their banner: the Duke assaulted the church and, it is thought, would have killed the Spaniards but that the governor of a town that was near came in and pacified the matter. But the King hath sent down commissioners to proceed against the soldiers and, it is thought, divers of them will die for it. In the meantime I hear that many Frenchmen were hurt but not one Spaniard. The Duke of Pastrana who is sent ambassador from hence is gone with extraordinary sumptuousness for a subject. He was conducted out of the town with fourteen Dukes and Grandees and all the noblemen and gentlemen of this Court. He hath provided 80,000*l.* for the expense of this journey. They have made a very good choice of his person for he is the handsomest man that I have seen in Spain. I pray you do me the kindness as to send me very particular word in what manner Don Pedro de Cuneaga is received in England. If he had found my Lord Treasurer alive and well, I know he should have had but a very sharp welcome. I pray you deliver my letter to Mr. Newton the prince's secretary and withal you may tell him that the last letter I wrote unto him, together with many more that I wrote unto divers of my friends fell into ill hands and were never delivered, in which you may say he had no worse fortune than yourself had, but I came unto the know-



ledge of it very lately. There remaineth no more but that I entreat you to esteem of Sir John Digby as of as true and certain a friend as any you have and of whom you may in all things as freely dispose, and such I rest your assured friend to serve you.

THE SAME to 'THE SAME. Madrid, 12 of November, 1612.

Noble Sir John Holles, I suppose you are now so busied in the preparation for our great match as a long letter would be troublesome unto you and, therefore, I will refer you to this bearer who at your hours of best leisure will be ready to entertain you with what Spain affordeth. But by the way I must let you know that here they say we have descended very much to bestow our only daughter on the Count Palatine: I answer them that we suppose her to be as well bestowed as either of this king's sisters were to the Cardinal or Duke of Savoy. They here pretend that if she had not been otherwise disposed of before the year of the king's widowhood had been expired that he would certainly have demanded her and to that end the ordinary ambassador (they say) had order many months since to see if he could stay other proceedings, and that Don Pedro de Cuneja had direct instruction (in case he found any likelihood of speeding) to propound it. I conceive they are willing with this false gloss to colour their former paltry proceedings with us. It beginneth now to be conceived that this king will marry again and the likeliest place for to match in is thought to be with one of his nieces, daughters to the Duke of Savoy, though our omnipotent Duke of Lerma laboureth by all means to divert him from it, fearing lest a wise queen might perhaps diminish his absoluteness whereof he began to have some experience in the last queen's time. To this end, the better to entertain the king and to divert him from that inclination, he hath now propounded his going to visit his kingdoms, which journey he will begin towards Portugal in December whereby we poor ambassadors that reside in this Court are like to become very miserable; for, if we go along with the king we shall be ruined with the charge and incommodities of the journey, if we stay behind we shall *predicare hic in desertis* and I should almost do the King as good service if I lay at Nottingham as I shall do him here at Madrid. We have here lately had a miserable accident happened at Lisbon in Portugal for on St. Luke's day last in the space of two hours by a sudden tempest there were cast away eighty ships and barques and among them four or five English ships. The value of the whole loss is judged to have been above a million of crowns. At this instant we receive news of the safe arrival of the West Indian fleet, which, they say, is come home very rich, to the value of twelve millions of crowns. I doubt not but that before this time your great offices are bestowed though the certain news of it be not yet come hither. I confess unto you I am very indifferent who cometh into the place on whom my directions depend, for, by

God's assistance, I will run the same course, if my best ifrends have the place as if my greatest enemy had it, relying upon the integrity of mine own proceedings and my diligence in the King's service and not on the friendship of a kind or favourable minister; though I shall not omit by all fitting means to endeavour to have their good opinion, for I well know that those by whom my services must pass unto his Majesty may by the way, if they list, give them an ill taste. I pray you by your first let me hear how all things are disposed of. I will conclude with my home news, which is that I have a young son lately whom I shall love somewhat the worse for being a Spaniard born. All is said but only the remembrance of my love and service unto you and my best wishes for your happiness and so I rest your affectionate friend to do you service, John Digby.

THE SAME to THE SAME. In answer of a letter of Sir John Holleses to him set down page 58. From Madrid, 29 October 1611.

Noble Sir John Holles. By your letter of 6 September which I received by Mr. Cottington's conveyance, I perceive I have no way been mistaken either in the opinion I have ever held of your worth and particular love to me, for, by your advice and the directness of it, I receive both wise and friendly testimonies of them. How much I approve your counsel the resolution I have taken to follow it shall best witness, for to me the power and force of having is not unknown and it is very like that my little deservings will find great use of that help. What I have done, if it hath been *aliquid nimis*, the circumstances required it. I shall hereafter follow your advice, though therein much art is to be used, for changes of that kind are to be made by insensible degrees. Your free and friendly advertisement concerning the delivery of my letters to the great ones of your house I take (as I have just cause) most thankfully and will use your directions. For our occurrents here, the chief speech is of the cross matches betwixt France and this Crown, which I much wonder, being in such forwardness, was unknown to other States till I gave the alarm of them. This Court, as you well know, is absolutely governed by the Duke of Lerma, not with restriction and measure as great ministers and favourites do in other kingdoms but with that fulness and absoluteness that the king is not spoken of, the Duke's name is only used. The chief minister under him (who formerly was his page) is one Don Rodrigo de Caldecon, by whom all businesses of this Court are as wholly despatched as those of England or France are by any one minister, for he guideth the Duke of Lerma who governeth all. The queen a little before her death took many distastes against this Don Rodrigo de Caldecon and complained of him to the King, since which time his enemies have followed him so close; and (as it is said) some such informations have been found by the king in a cabinet of the queen's against him,

that he seeing himself much straitened and fearing to be cast out of the Court with disgrace, made means unto his adversaries for the sending of him ambassador to Venice, which they were very willing to do that they might remove him out of the Court and kingdom ; so that of the greatest and powerfuller minister of this State he is now likely to become a ' ligier ' ambassador at Venice. But whilst his power lasted he was not idle for he hath gotten in ten years near unto 30,000 crowns revenue and is held worth two or three hundred thousand crowns in goods. We are yet all in sadness for the queen's death, the solemnity of whose funeral will be towards the end of this month. I doubt the letter you sent me was opened. I have sent you the cover by which you may guess somewhat, though unawares I broke off the seal. I pray you, write me word whether you think it hath been opened or not, but take no notice of it there. You may easily guess where the fault was, for by the way I know it was not touched nor the packet it came in. I pray you let me sometimes hear from you. I know you shall sometimes hear me and my services censured, therein deal freely and nobly with me as you do in all things else. To the prince, I no way doubt of all the good offices you can take occasion to do me, favour me with the knowledge how he valueth me. He that delivereth this will send your letters securely. There resteth only now that I desire you to continue your love unto me, and that you would believe that you shall ever find me a just and honest friend, that, though I have no facility in compliments, will never fail you in the true act of friendship. Your friend whom you ever may command, John Digby.

THE SAME to THE SAME. Madrid, 7 August, 1611.

Noble Sir John. This bearer, your ancient friend and acquaintance Mr. Cottington, hath commission to say more unto you than would be well contained in the compass of a letter and therefore I refer you to his relation, who shall say all that is to be said from me. My love unto you I no way doubt but you rest assured of, of yours I am most confident as likewise of all the good offices that with his Highness you may do me. In exchange you shall not find me wanting in anything wherein I may serve you : I pray you let me hear often from you. So wishing you all happiness and honour I rest your most assured friend to serve you, John Digby.

THE SAME to THE SAME. Madrid, 8 May, 1612.

I have great cause to mistrust that some of the letters which I have written unto you have not found assured conveyance, but we are both of us, I hope, too discreet to let any such kind of unluckiness cause so much as an imagination of any coldness in our friendship, which I conceive is set upon very solid foundations, your worth and merit causing me to respect you ;



and you regarding me because you find me honestly and truly to love you. But let us pass over this because I will have nothing that is like compliment pass betwixt us. Your fellow officer and my worthy predecessor, hath (as I am advertised) taken some things unkindly at my hands; whereof (not for expostulation) but for your private satisfaction I desire you should be acquainted for that, God willing, my actions shall be honest and noble, clean, thorough. Sir Charles Cornewallis, having in the time of his employment and since during the time of the residence of Mr. Cottington, undertaken the despatch of most of the merchants' businesses and having gotten powers and authorities to be transferred from them to him in his own name, would that I should have undergone the pains and contentions of the businesses and himself to have carried away the honour and advantage of the despatching of them, I wrote unto him in the respectfulest manner I could, letting him know that it could not but be held to be a great weakness in me to let the businesses, of which I was to have the managing, to pass under his name and authority and therefore entreated him that he would be pleased now to desist from the dealing in matters here and to transfer unto me such powers and interest as he had in these businesses, with condition that all such expenses as he or any of his had been at should be fully repaid him and likewise a fitting acknowledgment and gratuity for the former soliciting of them given to any such as he should appoint. But he thereunto giving me none but slight and dilatory answers, the merchants of themselves, thinking it more to their advantage to be under the care and protection of a present than of an expired ambassador, recalled his former powers and made them unto myself, but with condition of satisfying what he formerly had disbursed and recompensing such as he should appoint. This I hear he taketh unkindly, for which I should be very sorry, both in that I honour Sir Charles as a wise and noble gentleman and likewise have had particular obligation to him. I hope the unkindness will of itself pass away, as I much desire it should. If not, I have armed you as a confident friend with the truth; the which I desire you to conceal unless you see necessary cause of the making an apology for me, who neither have nor will in anything deserve ill at Sir Charles his hands. Our young master the prince, I hear, sometimes honoureth me with a favourable and gracious remembrance of me. But I shall be more comforted and encouraged with few words that I hear from Sir John Holles than with reports of very many others. I therefore very earnestly entreat you in your next letters, which I desire may be by this bearer, that you will truly and undisguisedly let me know the true opinion you find he holdeth of me. I entreat you likewise to add unto your good counsel of thrift (which by one of your letters you gave me) such advice and admonitions as, by the collection of such things as you shall there hear spoken

of me, your wisdom shall think fit for me. Herein you shall shew yourself a noble friend and oblige me to serve you with much affection. The chief news that is here current is the bruit of this king's intent to demand my Lady Elizabeth her grace, which they speak of here with as much confidence as though it were in a business already concluded, insomuch that there hath been many particular offers made unto me to intercede for divers unto her at her coming hither. But I doubt not but there is already a resolution taken for the bestowing of our fair lady, though not to so much greatness, yet more fittingly in regard of the circumstances of our State. Here are great preparations against the solemn publication of the matches betwixt France and this Crown which will be about Easter, upon the arrival of the Duke de Maine, and it is said that towards the latter end of this summer the Queen Regent of France will come as far as the frontiers of Spain to make an exchange of the princesses, that the education of the young ladies may make them more suitable to the humours of the countries wherein they are to live. But for mine own part I do not believe that they will here so soon condescend to so hasty an exchange. It is certain that Don Alonso the Spanish ambassador now resident in England will be shortly recalled and I am certainly informed that Don Pedro de Zuñega shall be sent over to acquaint his Majesty with the matches betwixt France and Spain. Not having more for the present wherewith to trouble you, I commit you to God's holy protection and rest your most assured John Digby.

THE SAME TO THE SAME. Madrid, this 18th of April, 1612.

Sir, Yours of 15 March I have received and with it the news of my Lord of Salisbury his dangerous indisposition. If it please God he recover not, none will participate more of the general loss than myself whom he hath bound unto him by many obligations. Besides you cannot but conceive of how much advantage it is to one in my place to have the favour and love of his director. But I hope God will be mercifull to me and many others in his preservation. If not, *levius fit patientia quod corrigere sit nefas*. What you write to me concerning his successor whom you suppose will be Sir Thomas Lakes, I hear it much likelier to go with Sir Harry Nevil. I would yourself might end the controversy, the which not only my affection but my opinion of your merit makes me wish. The rumours which have run of my rashness I am so charitable that I believe the likelihood that my youth and want of temper might have committed some such error, was the only author of it. But I thank God that though I have yet done little or nothing commendably yet I have committed nothing liable to so apparent blame and censure. If I have any enemies (as I hope I have not for I am no man's enemy), I wish their evil wills may never have better subjects to be set on work with. In requital

of your news I send you what this present affordeth. First :— you shall shortly have with you from hence as extraordinary ambassador Don Pedro de Zuñega, newly created Marquess de Flores de Avila who cometh to give his Majesty account of the marriages betwixt France and this Crown. The Marquess Spinola, whom they have made a grandee of Spain, is now returned towards Flanders. The causes of his going I wrote unto you in my last letter. They are here very much displeased with our Plantation of Virginia and are now resolved that it is not to be permitted, though I suppose they will first see if by instances with his Majesty they may cause us to remove. If not, I think they will do their best to remove us by a strong hand. The union likewise which is now concluding betwixt the princes of Germany and his Majesty is much disliked by them and they say it cannot be ill taken if in our imitation they desire to unite Catholie princes ; wherein they now labour very busily. Of the king's marriage here there hath been very much spoken for our fair Lady Elizabeth ; but we hear she is like to learn Dutch. And this king is not like to marry if the Duke of Lerma can hinder it, for he supposeth a wise queen might diminish his power. The Duke of Useda, eldest son to the Duke of Lerma, is shortly to be married again unto a daughter of the Marquess of Pliego. We are now making great preparations for the reception of the Duke de Maine who cometh out of France. He shall be defrayed and entertained in the same manner that our Lord Admiral was. From hence goeth into France the Duke of Pastrana. The prince of Savoy, who liveth in this Court, is upon a great sudden commanded to repair unto his charge which was lately bestowed upon him of the generalship of the king's gallies ; and is appointed to keep his residence at Denia, a town of the Duke of Lerma's, where he shall receive the standard, and the galley real shall remain. It is here generally thought and said that he shall not be any more permitted to return unto the Court. His sending away is held the more rigorous and hard for that it is so near the time of the solemnities and triumphs that are prepared for the reception of the Duke de Mayne, in which as a prince nearest allied he was determined to have been the principal actor. The Duke of Lerma, who is said to be the only cause of this his sudden remove, hereby giveth apparent testimonies of his little love to that house. I know you will be glad to hear of the reputation and great expectation which our young master hath amongst them here. You that are his nearest and greatest servants, I doubt not but you will assist his virtuous and generous disposition with noble and worthy advice. I hope to see him one of the greatest and renowned princes the world hath had these many years. The present affordeth little else wherewith I will trouble you only I remember my true love and service unto you and desire you to rest assured that you shall ever find me a constant and true friend of your's whom you shall dispose of. Your assured friend to serve you, John Digby.



THE SAME to THE SAME, his first letter at his going to his embassy in Spain from Orleans the 20th of April, 1611.

Noble Sir. Though the place I am now in affordeth little worth your knowledge, yet since the knowing that I am arrived safely as far as Orleans will not be displeasing to you (as I conceive), I am willing to give you notice of it, having had as happy a passage by sea and as good a beginning of a journey hitherto as could be wished. As I passed through France some of the ministers have come unto me who seem to be doubtfull of some troubles towards in France. The General Assembly is within very few days to be held for all those of the religion of this kingdom, where they will resolve what is fittest to be done for their own conservation. They mean to present unto the queen certain articles, by way of petition, to which if they find that the queen will not condescend, they will, as far as they may without falling to a war, stand upon their guard, for they say there are many practices against them. There happened yesterday a strange accident within few leagues of this town; two young gentlemen being in love with two young gentlewomen and not able to obtain their desires, accompanied with four, came into the house where they lived at such a time when the men of the house were most of them abroad, bound such as they found there, and ravished the two young gentlewomen. The gentlemen are fled and great pursuit after them. The strangest thing that I find in it is that French women should put men to that, being ordinarily accustomed to prevent foreing. This is all the present affordeth more than the remembrance of my love and service to you, desiring you to take hold of some occasion to present my most humble service unto the prince; in whose good opinion to be retained I cannot doubt of your best assistance. So recommending you to God I rest your loving friend to command, John Digby.

Copies of 2 Letters of which the writer's name does not appear.

*Italian.*

LORD BURGHLEIGH to SIR JOHN HOLLES, concerning a match for one of Mrs. Bevercote's daughters

7. Sir. Understanding that my father hath written unto you in favour of my cousin Bodendine, I am in duty tied to second his lordship's desire and to effect the good of a neighbour and kinsman yet so as I respect my friendship with you in that high degree as if I thought there were any disparity in either livelihood or birth I would forbear. What difficulty he shall else in the suit (my lord my father hath mentioned) undergo, if by your endeavours you will be pleased to make easy unto him, I shall take it for an extraordinary token of your good affection and for that and many other your favours remain ever your most affectionate friend.

## SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

Sir. Being confident that honour changeth not manners in spirits of your temper and worthiness, I take occasion by this gentleman passing over to salute you, hoping in exchange thereof to receive advertisement of your good estate and health in particularity which by fame long since in generality with your friends I have heard of. And though myself remain still after much tumbling to and fro under the same degree where first you found me, an addition only in years none in fortune, yet have I less cause to complain me because I am not worse, as peradventure you and I have known many so receive I no small contentation that you and some other my good friends have through many difficulties wrought out a successfull voyage and now having gained the harbour enjoy the deserved fruits of an honourable repose. I will send you hence no other occurrences not knowing how long idleness or accidental business may beealm my uncle's passage and I doubt not your reception of them from a better hand ; so as now having saluted you I have little more to say but that according to your means and his occasion you will be pleased to favour and honour him with your conveniency as you shall find him worthy, which my desire is the more to be excused in that he is so near to me as my father's brother, otherwise though peradventure old acquaintance might presume much with Sir Arthur Chichester yet must I and should I be better mannered in prattling to a lord governor of Ireland, and therefore so coneluding with more ceremony than would become our former familiarity I rest your lordship's assuredly to command.

## The Copy of an English Letter.

Sir, You know and I find that *gli amici veri alla prova si conoscendo* ; I must confess that your last offered favour is most rare : my desert nothing. But your repayment shall be sure and the memory ever. I send you withal this obligation for pledge and rest in all assurance yours even truly yours.

[*Translation of the first of the two Italian letters above.*]

## The Copy of another Letter.

Sir, Because I cannot come I send and the errand is for the thing you wot of which I presume to beg and purpose to repay in what my command shall extend, which not being in this kind binds me to such other as you hold in my horizon, I will therefore use no other ceremony than that which becometh respectful friends, who will witness themselves as well with good works as faith. In which number I rather covet to be ranked esteeming the other purity too angelical for the gross, sinful, element I am made of. I end and remain your very assured friend to command.

[*Translation of the other Italian letter above.*]

LADY HOLLES, to the COUNTESS OF BEAUMONT in France,  
22 July, 1614.

Madame. Bien que je me soy tenee jusques a maintenant neanmoins j'ay eu tousjours en memoire la bonne souvenance des faveurs dont il vous a pleu m'honorer durant vostre tres agreable sejour par deça, ayant bien desiré (il y a long temps) vous faire cognoistre eeste mienne affection, et eomme je suis tousjours preste de vous rendre les serviees que vos vertus meritent, mais je n'ay jamais sceu renecontrer le bonheur d'un tel messenger qui vous presentast mes lettres, personne ne me pouvant faire entendre si vous demeuries a Paris ou non : or puisque cestuy ey, mon fils aîné et votre tres humble serviteur, a maintenant pris eeste route la, je ne puis plus longuement faillir a mon desir en eest endroit. Pourtant ay je pris la hardiesse de vous faire la presente puisque, outre le grand desir que le jeune homme a de soy mesme de presenter et a Monsieur et a vous son plus humble serviee, en recognoissance des grandes faveurs qu'il en a receu des sa premiere enfance, il a charge et de son pere et de moy de vous aller baiser tres humblement les mains et de n'arrester en lieu tant qu'il vous trouve soy a Paris ou ailleurs. Sur quoy vous presentant de tout mon cœur les tres affectionnes baisemains de Monsieur Holles et de moy je demeure a jamais Madame vostre tres humble et tres affectionnee servante Anne Holles.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to LORD GRAY, about Parliament business.

Most noble Lord. So am I daily tossed up and down by this stormy question of the union which like the bird Noah let fly out of the Ark can find for her foot no dry ground in our house that my spirits distracted into the several considerations which spring thence are not easily united to my particuler, whereof your lordship hath an eminent place and portion so as with more assurance ean I crave pardon in that so long I have spared my scribble : neither had I anything worthy. Our speaker absented by siekness eight or ten days ; no report that while of our last conferenee which floodgate lift up gave in expectaney passage to new deliberations and resolutions. Since what hath happened you shall know ; but first our last conference brake off in this manner ; the Lords having taken a sennight's leisure to digest and answer the parts of the Seots naturalized capacities, with the restrictions and corrections we had woven therewith according to our projections returned by the mouth of my Lord of Salisbury the acceptance of all our propositions and largess with application only to the *ante nati*. But the *post nati* being more filial as born under our king's obedience were to be embraced with a more liberal arm. To this we replied that the desire of our hearts aspired to a perfect uniting of these



two kingdoms under one law, one view of Parliament, which being a fabric not to be perfected without great difficulty, travail, and time, was for the present only to be wished. In the meantime our endeavour must be rather with our gift to set an edge upon their teeth that by keeping them in appetite they may with the bait receive the hook also, and in time be reduced under our law, without which we have no hold of them neither in love nor safety; that therefore we neither could nor would make difference in our grace where all were in one rule of right, of the two, *ante nati* to be preferred, both for their particular merit and ability of present meriting; that the *post nati* with the advantage of their youth might stay the operation and work of time, ere when experience would instruct us how far we were to open the door; that our Commission was, to proceed *conjunctim* and not *disjunctim*. If your Lordships pursued other course, humble audience we would give then but no conference. Hereupon, after some consultation about the board, my Lord of Salisbury replied that they must give over for that time, their coming being to ripen the work by reciprocal and free speech and not to have audience only; at which word they would not accept, though subject to divers expositions; that for the present each of us might return to our houses, make report of the day's work, and upon larger authority re-assemble. The last day, repetition being made, a motion was offered to advise of further proceedings by way of Committee; that rejected, the Speaker presented to the choice three ways;—the first to pause, the second to dispute the proposition in the House, the third to refer the charge to the Committee. The House accepted the pause. The next day, the Lords, by message, signified to the House the cause of the cessation of the Conference, requiring that, the point *de jure* laid aside, we would freely, without reservation, resume that of convenience, to the end we might understand one the other and rear up the fabric the better, the base being so well laid, and yet without binding or concluding either, each House remaining in his entire to judge of their labours. We received this somewhat coldly (much like irresolute prisoners that sentence of ill fortune) and never a whit better sweetened by a gentleman speaking in that behalf: adjourned answer to the next morning. Here began a sharp and well polished contention resembling the face and feature of a civil war, at the least that which Livy describeth between the Latins and the Romans, the same militia, the same discipline in the whole and the parts: those persuading the conference produced those motives that all difficulties were facilitated thereby, that their extraordinary and new theorems must be well tempered and hammered and demanded much licking and kneading ere they could be moulded into a Bill; that it purged forth error as fire separateth and cleanseth dross from gold; that hitherto by them we had rather gained ground and had transmuted the baser into richer

metal ; that they served us for a stamp to our coin and had enlarged the value, night and darkness only covering faults, the day delighting in the sun's glory, so as in itself ill it could not be nor ill by consequence ; that which is feared to lurk under this green leaf is a tacit confirmation, at the least a corroboration of the judges opinion *de jure*, which we ought to fly as from the plague and condemn to utter Cimmerian darkness ; the remedy our protestation entered into our book, ratified with our voice, and the like performed by the Lords in the Upper House against the judges' opinion *de jure* ; that both *post* and *ante nati* were in one rule of right or the left hand was from grace, no due nor merit, and this first before the admission of conference ; it behoveth us to be innocent as doves, wise as serpents ; to hear the Lords was both duty and civility ; it might be their reasons pulled forth of the shop of state as quintessences and extractions of spirits divided from the elemental dross of our ignorances would clear and rectify the question ; prejudging was a child of passion ; separating from them upon so light a cause would argue a body repleté with corrupted humours ; all division dangerous ; if at any time, *tum bellum justum quando neecessarium* ; the King might with too much probability censure us of passion and the general enemy suck hence venom to distract the peaceable coherence of the State ; how necessary it was to preserve even as the apple of the eye the prince's reputation and that principally consisted in the love and affection of his people, the good whereof, not his particular only but the kingdom's also, which were as inseparable as heat from fire or moisture from water, and this would soon express itself in all foreign businesses by the merehandize, 'souldior,' negociations etc. Others remembered in contradiction of this, how undeeent, nay how dangerous it was to be variable and uncertain, that where the hedge was low every one would over ; we should now by connivance and inference subscribe to the judges' opinion ; this conference tended to that end to entrap us and, unless we had better profited by those past, rather none ; let us tread the wise steps of former Parliaments—first Bills, then conference. And so the ball banding to and fro, this morning was spent. The morrow after, the King sent commanding us to attend him the day following, in the meantime none to depart ; for the present to suspend the argument ; which was done to divert the question then feared by the Speaker. Noble Lord, I have accounted you all to this present ; and with this returned you your worthy contemplation, which I have read, hoping ere long the wise persuasion of so true a patient shall take place and we return according to the necessity of state to our true love, abandoning this new harlot. I have no room to gabble further : conclude I will according to your worth and my affection. Yours,

A grievance put up in the Parliament House by Sir John Holles.

The main grievance is the King wants money; for which supply this Parliament is called. Merely this supply is to be made twofold from our purse, from our counsel, for they that cure well a disease remove the cause with which the effect perisheth. Our gift I wish liberal: the King's expense moderate, for unless the drain or outlet be stopped, be the inlet never so large, we may pour in but never fill. In discharge of my duty to my prince and country I will deliver my grievance. The Court is the cause of all for by the reception of the other nation that head is too heavy for this small body of England; and, unless the cure be there begun, we may linger but never be healed. The King's equal affection to us as them would help all. They bred him, we nourish him and with us he enjoys kingdoms and greatness; but the Scottish monopolise his princely person, standing like mountains betwixt the beams of his grace and us; and, though it becomes us not to appoint particulars about him, yet we most humbly beseech his Majesty his bedchamber may be shared as well to those of our nation as to them, that this seven years' brand of jealousy, distrust, or unworthiness, may at the last be removed from us, and that the same chamber may have the same brotherly partition which all the other inferior forms of the Court, the presence, and Privy Chamber have. From this inequality proceedeth a twofold unequal distribution of benefits, of favours, for not only the King's ordinary and extraordinary receipts be exhausted by them but all escheats be their inheritance, be our faults pecuniary or the loss of lands or life, so also by the grace of their place all favours and honours directly or indirectly pass through their hands; for not only they possess the royal presence, they be warm within, while the best of ours starve without. Hence, as from a fountain, is fed that great and daily renewing overplus of their nation which surrounding the whole Court devours that royal hospitality and trebleth the ordinary expense. Many of them be worthy; I am not lean because they be fat, only I wish equality, that they should not seem to be the children of the family and we the servants; which proportion, as it will breed a mutual love, so will it close up in such measure this evacuation, that the King being abundantly supplied from his own, those words of supply and support and this fearful term of grievance shall be no more remembered and we hereafter shall live most happy subjects under a far more happy sovereign.

The MARQUIS OF LULLINS to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

The superscription;—A Monsieur Monsieur le Chevalier Holles, gentilhomme de la Chambre du Roy.

Monsieur, Je me sens tant obligé a toutes vos courtoisies qu'au moins ne puis je ne vous en rendre tesmoignage par ce



petit mot, et aussi vous dire mon heureuse arrivee icy. Et comme je ne me suis point servy du vaisseau que le Roy m'avoit ordonné a cause que le temps fust si contraire qu'il ne peut sortir des Dunes et a moy si propre de Dovres a Gravellin qu'en moins de cinque heures je m'y rendis sur des vaisseaux ordinaires, ce que vous prie de faire entendre a Monsieur le Grand Admiral a qui toutefois depuis Gravelin j'en ay escript, ne seachant s'il aura reeeu ma lettre. En luy baisant, et as tout ees Messieurs de la Court et a vous, autant humblement les mains que je suis et seray tousjours, Monsieur, vostre tres affectionné et obligé a vous servir G. de W. Marquis de Lullin. De Bruxelles ce ii. Fevrier 1604.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to LORD GRAY.

Noble Lord, for that style I may more truly give you in that with a virtuous and manly patience you trample upon fortune than other embroidered titulars assume it though they seem riding upon the wheel, and it is a wheel their experience in themselves and others have so found it ; and when it will turn upon them where otherly they know not. Some of them might well remember Lewis the 11th's great officer (who as his house hung round with the ranks of his own rising at the last represented him in *eima della ruota*), banqueting the king by easualty or how, among the comforts the king discovers a great eart nail, gives it his host with this document that he should with a hammer fix it under the wheel lest, if it turned, it should return him where he was first found. And therefore your Lordship is happy in your meditations, observations, and readings, that thence hath gathered this herb of comfort, with which your thoughts, your words, your actions, being seasoned, both life and death is a sweet smelling sacrifice to Him who in fulness of time will reward your long suffering with what is most for your good. I never believed much in Court friends and feared most their smiles : fear etc. hath so overspread there that, though there be hopes to be as they see others, yet can they not be honest as they may be, to reap contentment for such condition as they have. Such is the late L. P. of W. and so I expounded him when first you mentioned him to me, though for your love I was willing to beguile myself a little. I pray God the Ch. of D. prove somewhat for he is the last lance you have to hold by in this Danish visitation. Howsoever your Lordship's cuirass being of such proof is *paratus ad omnia*, and God be thanked ! none can term you base gold for *eeluy craint la touche* : yet *omnem movere lapidem* is the office of a man whose labour God blesses. Refer the success to Him who prospers rather our patience than our desires. The King's return, this night : to-morrow holdeth as yet the post to Rochester and so the rest *ut supra*. Your Lordship hath now a hazard to hit, you must strike close. This is all I can, having no other weapons than the churchmen *preces et lacrymæ*, which

with whatso else shall be to witness my love to your religious, worthy, and faithfull heart, as being your Lordship's ever to be commanded.

THE SAME to his brother-in-law Sir John Stanhope, upon the Queen's sickness 1603.

Good brother, It cannot be but long ere this these evil tidings of the Queen's sickness have been with you, for ill news do ordinarily rather fly than creep. And yet, God be thanked ! there is no such extremity that her recovery either is or should be esteemed desperate. Nevertheless, what shall be being uncertain, it is expedient you be careful of your own particular, watchfull of your house, companies, and going abroad, and so well provided in your strength for your own defence as your adversaries may rather break their teeth than tear your skin ; these being the times of the devil's unchaining and the predestinated hours of revenge and mischief. If God shall please her Majesty overcome this evil you shall be partaker of our consolation. Howsoever, a man warned is half armed, and where dogs bark the wolves may howl yet leave those folds in quiet ; more particularly I think my uncle Michell hath writ and to a wise man one word sufficeth. Hereafter, what accidents are you shall know, if I have commodity of sending. In the meantime with my kindest remembrance to my good sister I rest your very loving brother.

THE SAME to the EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

My Lord, If I knew not myself firmly rooted in your Lordship's love and understood not so well your noble disposition, I should fear this long absence had cast me out as unsavoury salt and had branded me for an ungratefull summer fly, unworthy of that degree the world witnessed me to enjoy in your Lordship's favour. But your Lordship's judgment entering further into our conditions sees how little my visitations can benefit you and how much prejudice me and thereby disable me from all possibility of hercafter service ; wherein, though the likelihood be no more than it was, yet may I hope to take the turning tide with the first being free from exception. I can as well grieve here as there, which is the least and weakest fruit of compatibility. I desire not to appear in a vulgar form though my rank be no other. God and the King I hope ere long will restore your Lordship to yourself and friends ; in the meantime a manly patience medicineth and expiateth all exulcerated conceptions, sweeteneth the present, and prepareth a future *quietus est*. I presume too far and as the Italian saith *imparar il padre a far figliuolo* : your Lordship hath remitted greater errors I despair not of this. I have according to Sir Edward Franceses demand from your Lordship returned him your books of architecture, for which I present you my most humble thanks, hoping when you can spare them hereafter to

repair to their help which as yet in the 'praetike' they have little afforded me, for the first materials for building be in a settled intention to it and store of those entrails of Ophir, both which have yet been absent, this Tantalus life being the cause; but now, the vanity of those hopes appearing, ere long I shall go 'ramer' for the more innocent country and leave this close by the wind to stronger sides: and, if I can with the favour of moderate frugality in some measure 'inrable' and refresh my weather beaten purse, I doubt not of will enough to enter into the disbursement; necessity of a wild, ruinous, even deerepit, house, and a little desire to sweeten the wildness and solitariness of the place, compelling me; together with the pleasure of building, being a more permanent work and many times a better than getting of children or other posterity. I have sent you all your books but old Vitruvius, whose conversation I desire a little longer, if your Lordship can spare him. Vignola and Guigati, by negligenee, are left in the country and shall be returned so soon as I get them hither. I humbly take my leave and rest yours ever to be commanded.

THE SAME to the MARQUIS OF LULLIN in Piemont, sent from Brussels, 4 May, 1605.

2. Monseigneur, Je vous supplie de me pardonner de ce que par mes lettres je ne vous ay présenté mon service depuis si long temps jusques a maintenant, la raison en a esté pour n'avoir seu trouver la commodité d'un bon messenger. Ores ayant eu le bonheur de reneontrer Monsieur Baronvred fils iey a Brusselles (ou je suis par commandement du roy pour accompagner son ambassadeur Monseigneur le Comte d'Harford) je n'ay pas voulu laisser aller ceste bonne occasion pour vous faire cognoistre quel serviteur vous avez par deça, lequel encores qu'il cede a beaucoup d'autres que vos vertus vous ont acquis en merite et suffisance, il ne laissera pourtant de vous honorer d'aussi, bonne devotion que pas un deux, et de faire apparostre par sa bonne volonté selon l'occasion que se mettra au devant la grande obligation qu'il vous porte pour tant d'honneurs et de faveurs receues a vostre estre aupres de sa Majeste, esperant quelquefois d'estre si heureux que de vous baiser les mains presentialement comme estant monseigneur vostre . . .

THE SAME to LORD WILLOUGHBY OF EARSBY, son to him that was governor of Berwick. 20 February, 1602.

My Lord. Since the receipt of your letter of 25 December from Siena, I have received the copy of mine of 16 July which with your favour I find not to admit such interpretation touching that honourable lady or yourself, for neither do I persuade you, nor sollicit for her, the one being uneivil, the other injurious, nor that I believed my intelligence, for I am not ignorant of Court discourses. But be it that I had transgressed



so much as to have motioned such a match, neither her birth had so dishonoured you, nor her portion been contemptible, to have given my letter the colder welcome. Indeed herself and friends might well have reproved my folly, whose value is greater than to be thrust into any man's fist. What I heard privately I wrote, with intention to serve you as you would use me; otherwise I am as far from being meddlesome in your businesses as I am from understanding your meaning in remembering to me my cousin your Lordship's sister's unfortunate proceedings. This is all I will commit to paper in answer of your Lordship's letter till it shall please God you return and in the meanwhile rest your Lordship's loving kinsman.

THE SAME to my old LADY OF DERBY, concerning the decree in the Chancery against the Lady Margaret Stanhope.

Madam, I am sorry this occasion presents my scribble to your ladyship, which rather should express my service and first beg your commandments than favour. But as I am tied in duty to wish and further the good of my Lady Stanhope my mother-in-law so hope I of well speeding, persuaded through your honourable inclination to her and the reasonableness of the request. The matter in short, is this:—near ten years past my Lord made an order that my Lady Stanhope should lend to the co-executors 600*l.* to be repaid her from the issues and profits of the land allotted to the will, the debts being paid, which she from good ground supposing to be all discharged, hath detained the overplus of those rents of Shelford in her hand (the King and other dues thereby discharged) for the satisfaction of that her due ever since the death of our late sovereign. Whereupon Laurence Wright alleging the debts yet remaining; my Lady was for that her undue retention upon Friday last by my Lord of Kenloss censured of a contempt, and to be committed to the Fleet in case all the rents aforesaid were not paid within eight days. My humble request is:—Seeing I find her very conformable and ready in every jot to perform the decrees of that honourable court and that this was rather a mistaking in that she attended not the ordinary course as doubtful of her adversary's honest proceeding with her, and that within the term limited she cannot with any possibility get in so great a sum, amounting to 1700*l.*, that it would please your Ladyship to move my Lord, who coveteth more obedience to the orders of the Court than an aged sickly lady's imprisonment, to be pleased to give her time to the midst of the next Term; or rather, the shortness of the time and hugeness of the sum considered, upon bonds to his lordship's content, to Our Lady Day; when, God willing, she will satisfy in all respects what belongeth to her, being for that purpose and the serving of my lady your daughter presently to go into the country. So shall I be much bound to your Ladyship, both of us to my Lord,

and yet no decree nor order altered, only the tartness somewhat sweetened. Madam, if I have been too long, blame in me the nature of a suppliant, who for himself thinks he can never speak enough ; which, rather than I should with more words excuse and so leap out of the frying pan into the fire, [I] will without further prattle conclude, including my best services and submitting all to your noble disposition, and rest etc.

SIR GEORGE HOLLES to his brother SIR JOHN HOLLES. 1604.

Brother, I understand that you think that this my lying here, resorted unto by much company, is the cause of great expenses. These years the which I have spent in this my bitter profession affordeth me so much discretion that the intruding companies of loose, fawning, friends, cannot empty my purse to fill their unsatiable bellies. I am come over hither to recover my decayed health and to see them, kinsfolk and friends, the which I shall find here, not in any sort to be chargeable to any of them nor, by lavish expenses, at my going back to leave a score behind me. That small sum of money which is due unto me I would gladly have. You know yourself how long it is since I received any from you ; which when I shall receive, until the time of the Bath, I will retire myself some whither lest in staying here to recover my body I do get that general infection of mind the which I see to be so common and infectious in every man. Well, unto myself will I trust, trusting that He who always hath blessed and prospered me will likewise still continue ; that, as now so always hereafter, I may maintain this my poor estate wherein I may live and rest, not beholden to trouble any. The uncertainty of your lodgings causeth me to make that known unto you by pen the which I would have uttered before unto you. Thus committing you to God I end and rest, your very loving brother.

SIR JOHN HOLLESES answer to his brother GEORGE. 1604.

Brother George, The humour of your letter I understand not. I know myself and I think I know you. You say I think such company as haunteth you will charge you : which saying is no wrong to you. Nevertheless I leave you to your own discretion. The next reprehension is that you have not your due. Where such due groweth other than from my free will I would willingly be informed. I purposed to have sent you money upon my own receipt thereof, which required not too long patience and this you had known if you had come to me who have lodged in Whitecross Street this sennight without changing and thence not till after 9 in the morning. In the meantime we shall be as nature hath placed us before or after each other, and the less you stand in use of any shall the better content me. And so I betake you to God's protection.

LORD ERSKINE to SIR JOHN HOLLES, in answer of his letter, page 195.

8. Good Sir John Holles, The interest I would have you think you have in me requires not such ceremonial compliments which your friendly disposition affords in your letter and therefore it were a work of supererogation for me to regreet you with the like; but as in your request to remember the King of you so in all other occasions wherein I may do you pleasure, I will be very ready to do a friend's part, which your absence cannot make me forget considering mine affection is on your part so worthily deserved. I would have you therefore persuaded that I will rest your ever assured loving friend, Areskin of Dirltone.

LADY HOWARD to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Sir. At the request of this bearer, I must desire your favour in his behalf to help him with the money due for keeping the prince's dogs, which he hath so well deserved with his care and pains in that service that his own merit were enough to speak for himself. But he presuming on my power with you to effect a greater matter hath at this time of his extraordinary occasions made me by this his earnest request to crave it. The which if for my sake he may obtain, I shall hold a favour to myself and ever be ready to approve that I am in all true friendship to you affectionate Howard.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to the LORD OF BLANTHIRE ST. GILES, this last of May, 1609.

My Lord. My cousin Stuart your son hath many times both before his going to Seotland and since importuned me for the selling the land which he had by my Lady Dorothy and that he might have the money, which, as he said, should be employed in Seotland for their far greater advantage, honour, and profit, and with such vehement earnestness he hath pressed me (wherein my Lady Dorothy also joined) that we have approached nearer unto dislikes than ever I could have suspected. Whereupon I told him that my love to him had received a lean and disproportional requital for in my affection to him and his wife I exposed myself to my Lord of Huntington's ill conceit: and, though in the dispute of this business he offered me both excellent good security for the commodious disposition of the money and also intimated to my understanding some good consequence, yet could I not consent, being both in honour and conscience bound to perform my word to the dead and the Will of the dead, which was to be raised in this country from the land itself or profit thereof. Besides I remembered him and thereupon shewed him your Lordship's aet, and his before marriage, whereby you covenant with me to raise a jointure to my Lady Dorothy of a 1000 marks per annum, whereof 400*l.* per annum



to be answered from her portion of 4000*l.* the residue from the King's gift of the parsonages, as more at large by that writing it appeareth. Of that gift the money is received which, I hear, is expended for payment of debts and the present support of their estate, they having not had other means from you nor elsewhere, as I hear, and yet no part set forth for the supplement of this jointure ; this parcel of land only remaineth to make all good, which also, God willing, shall be husbanded to the best for the present for them and, future, to the survivor or heir to the satisfaction of her most curious friend and the world, who with good authority might condemn me if, contrary to my word to the dead, the Will of the dead, the contract with your Lordship, I should presume to make any alteration, though to the better. Now, my Lord, though you be a father I know you wise, noble, and religious, and therefore I dare make you judge betwixt me and your son whether his desire or my refusal were more just and better grounded, and therefore I beseech you impart your opinion hereof and direction to him, that these his former desires giving me no disturbance, I may put the land to sale which yet I have kept unsold, and thereby give that augmentation to their estate which other places by way of transplantation cannot afford nor are so proper, and for the reasons aforesaid have been hitherto 'forslowed.' This I have long desired to signify to your Lordship yet forbore, expecting your return into these parts, which I hope will be ere long upon some honourable occasion ; which also I much desire in the favour of my particular, that here I might more really express my love and service than in these poor characters, which nevertheless that your Lordship would please to accept in the interim for his sake who is your Lordship's assuredly to command.

LORD CUMPTON and SIR JOHN HOLLES to the EARL OF  
HUNTINGDON.

My Lord. We have received your Lordship's letters severally addressed to us and have long expected Mr. Harvie's leisure for the finishing those businesses according to the natural interest your Lordship and we have therein. This Term is past and never would Mr. Harvie come near us, and before this a twelvemonth and more since you sold, and we bought, what now we covet. Our desire is without more references to have your assurance to us perfected or denied, it sufficing we have a certainty and for the worst an easy remedy. In one of your Lordship's letters you craved our lease of Dale, promising us assurance for the discharge of the legacies and we are ready rather that way to satisfy my lady's will than to your further prejudice to enter upon Carswall ; but time passeth and near two years since my Lady's decease and no one bequest paid, and Mr. Harvie whom you have delegated to all this work neglecteth us and it. Let us know whom or what you will for our security ; and, if times and the parties like us, we will,

the bonds made, deliver the lease, provided your Lordship be none of the number, against whom we will avoid all occasions of suit. In the other, your Lordship recommended to us a chapman for Dale, pressing us thereunto by some inducive circumstances we are sorry we cannot therein answer your Lordship's request having determined of the land other way, as shall appear in his due time, when also these chapmen shall inform themselves in whom the estate of those lands remaineth, which it seemeth by their byways they are yet unwilling to know. Our cousin Harry Hastings sent to us this Term demanding my old Lady's legacy of 400*l.* to his son Francis according to the will. We have thereof conferred and promised him answer this progress.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to the EARL OF HUNTINGDON.

My Lord, I have long looked for the performance of your promised assurance for which you have bargained with us according to which you have received 250*l.* and other 250 you expect at the day. I beseech you deal clearly with me and drive me not to look for Mr. Harvie up and down and I know not for what. The last Term he never vouchsafed to come near my Lord Cumpton nor me. I met him accidentally at my Lord Treasurer's and [he] dropped forth two or three words to me touching my lease of Carswell, which I answered your Lordship should have, contenting me with security and days for the discharge of those legacies of the Will. But I see small reason wherefore this should stay of that which shall be, if it please you, finished in the country and cannot be conveniently now. Your Lordship's present answer I only covet, which shall content me whatsoever; assuring myself to find you honourable and religious in all your actions. Which with by best service I recommend with your Lordship's letter to God's protection, and rest.

THE SAME to a Lord touching a conference of the knights of the Lower House of Parliament with the Lords of naturalization.

Noble Lord, To make you an account of this intricate business were a task far more difficult than to make brick without straw and demandeth an understanding capable thereof; which, though your Lordship may wish in me and I in myself, at this time especially for your service, yet, not having it in any proportion, your Lordship will be pleased to accept my posse. But to the matter;—This creature, this Union, now three years past first presented to us by the name of Britain, now beginneth to express itself in some parts to our senses, which remitting it to our understanding appeareth in so many pieces and fractions as I fear me shall have small honour, profit, or contentment, in the workmanship: and yet these are the inducements and

principal ends of our labour. The subject of all is a naturalization of that nation, the *postnati*, by Common Law, the *ante nati*, by provision of Parliament. We not believing the instrument, knowing the authors thereof men, and probably might err, surveyed and questioned the Common Law in that point and found it contrary to the Commissioner's opinion, and, notwithstanding the judges concurrence therewith, by message to the Lords, and upon Saturday last in conference with them, declared the contrary, and thereupon descended to the 2nd point—the conveniency and inconveniency of naturalization in general, both *postnati* and *antenati*. The three ordinary prolocutors of your Lordship's house harangued at large of the profit and honour of union in generality, necessary in regard of safety, honourable by the addition of so much more greatness, and respectively to our neighbours fearfull. And so, skirmishing fair, and far off, with an humour rather of entertainment, music like, upon the ending of the act, gave us leave to make nearer approaches (not unlike to *enfants perdus*) to the true state of the question. And we, as bold as blind byard, whom ignorance of danger makes more daring, came presently to the push of the pyke; and distributing naturalization into five capacities, inheritances of lands, ecclesiastical and scholastical preferments, offices, honours, trades and sciences: propounded also what admissions and restrictions these and every one of them should be accompanied and granted. And first affirmatively for their lands, temporal or spiritual possessions, they should be liable to all charges and subsidies etc., and negatively they should not be committees of wards, they should not export their revenues forth into Scotland like bad tenants who occupying with their own some of the lord's demesnes till this out of heart to manure that and at last leave it *en friche*; and particularly offered to their Lordship's speculation the letting out of so much good blood as a yearly two or three hundred thousand pounds not without in the most partial construction a great weakening of the body politic of this kingdom. That rather, this being his seat, his treasure, his strength, honour, and dairy, should be husbanded to increase lest the draining of us not sufficing to enrich the other should bring desolation to both, for great and portable rivers divided into many branches prove foot passages. They should be admittable only to the tenth part of ecclesiastical livings and promotions, (bishopries, and all judicature in both conditions excepted), to places in colleges, (the heads excepted), studying the usual term, taking degrees without favour or dispensation, not to have two benefices nor two dignities, wherein was offered considerable that they should first speak our language perfectly, else could not the people understand them. Then somewhat was spoken, though lamely, touching country government and they debarred from being sheriffs, justices of peace, and jurors. But ere we launched into these particulars even at the first



entrance we offered these things to their Lordships wisdoms ;— the first by way of wish, the other by way of doubt ; we wished rather an absolute than this imperfect and reserved union, shewing that this rather aimed at separation, for what could they desire more than our commodities, their liberties wanting only that and a participation of our greatness : that it were better to be niggardly with them now by conserving them in appetite, to keep something to draw us nearer together, seeing *nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*. Our doubts were two : the first, what security that this new word naturalization, a stranger to our language and laws, should not extend itself further than our particular explanation ; if and which way the prerogative were to be bounded, without which no bargain, no communication. The second was their confederation with France ; which, as it gave them superiority in fortunes, they there being national we strangers, so remained it as an ensign of hostility and picklock upon occasion by opening the back door to let in what poison their French sweetheart list spit upon us, the condition thereof being against their common enemy English ; adding further the league made betwixt the King and the Scottish nation not personal between the two kings and not altered by the king's coming to this crown, which appeareth by their yet fruition and continuation, their former privileges—nay rather an addition of new, at the least never or seldom before in use, namely the reason of the new troop of gendarmery consisting not of French Scots but Scots residing in England and Scotland, whereof the Duke of Lennox is lieutenant, and many even of the King's Chamber tied to the duty of that soldiery, which is a point considerable as well in reputation as danger. Notwithstanding we otherwise presumed not to accost that shell, knowing mysteries of state not subject to our elevation, but to receive address and resolution from their lordships, to whom they belong more properly. To this may be joined much more, that the French are by Act of Parliament naturalized in Scotland ; that the instrument of our union in the preamble only forbiddeth alteration in our fundamental laws, that both in the preamble and body of the Act, and this admission of inheritance is an innovation in our laws. But now I come to an anchor ; this being, as I remember, the sum and subject of that day's work, where methinks not undeservedly you compare us to young gamesters who throw at all, or to drunken men who speak all they think. Their Lordships walking in a wiser air keep themselves within their trenches and strength, out of which they will not sally without assured advantage to their particular. Upon Saturday peradventure when they are either to concur, confute, or project *aliquid tertium*, this bear whelp will be licked into better shape and by their good interpretation our mist cleared and the business made more intelligible to our dull conceptions.

LADY MARGARET STANHOPE to LORD CHANCELLOR EGERTON,  
penned by Sir John Holles.

Right Honourable. My most humble duty remembered, I perceive by Mr. Wood my solicitor that your Lordship hath honourably moved all causes betwixt me, my son, and Laurenee Wright, to be ended by arbitration, only the arrearages of 496*l.* accruing from my son Thomas Stanhope's estate, which your Lordship the last Term decreed against me, to be suspended, which, being rather by motion to them than mentioned in the Decree, my humble desire is that, either your Lordship would reserve the execution thereof to your own wisdom, or reecomend it with the rest to the arbitrators ; for, though the one be my son and the other from a boy hatched up in my father and husband's house and nourished till this hour upon my land, yet from them I know I shall have all cruel measure : and I most humbly beseech your Lordship vouchsafe as in this glass to behold a small figure of my miserable condition since my husband's dying and death. In his better health he made his will, set down his debts, to the discharge whereof, legacies, etc., he allowed 1500*l.* per annum good land. After weakness of mind and body oppressing him that he knew not what he did, this son and Laurence Wright altered that part of the Will, took thence 900*l.* per annum, and by new purchases to the value of three or four thousand pounds increased the charge ; for this purpose, as the sequel hath manifested, to rob or to trouble me in whatsoever in the Will concerned me and to defraud all the legatories. My husband dead and the goods and lands left found too weak for the burden of debts, they sought relief from the legacies ; for mine, they had from me 600*l.* which I unadvisedly like an ignorant woman, refusing at the first and thereupon made prisoner in the Fleet, this son broke my house, took thence all the evidences, and thence prepared all my troubles following. I having no writing left to shew to maintain either jointure, lease, legacies, or purchase. Presently he took from me 200*l.* per annum of my jointure, being the more part of a lordship called Horsley, and other places, and within a while buying this parsonage of Spoondon over my son Thomas his brother's head ; notwithstanding my entrance into it and the particular I had taken forth thereof, he sought the forfeiture thereof for nonpayment of rent at the day, he having taken away, as aforesaid, the lease, which was my direction, among the other writings. Oft I sent to them the rent according to the days I had formerly paid to the Queen's receivers but they refused, ' banding ' me from one to the other, and at the last my son entered upon the more part of the titles, and sued me for detaining the rest, which suit at the least cost me 500*l.* so as the tythe which was set forth towards my son's bringing up by his father's will his brother took from me and left him wholly to my private purse ; and yet this last term, valuing this parsonage at 80*l.* per annum, 40*l.* more than it was yearly

worth, procured this infliction of 496*l.* by order, upon me. I humbly beseech your Lordship pardon me if I reiterate the great charge my son Thomas his bringing up, tuition and long consumption, brought me. Besides a great expense at several schools at Oxford, his diet and his man's, stood me 30*l.* per annum, his tutor my Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield had 20 marks per annum, here is forty odd pounds, besides his apparel, books, and other fitting expense, his man's wages; and after, his two year's chargeable expenses at London, Oxford, mine own house in the country, and elsewhere, having divers physicians, apothecaries, and others, necessary daily attending upon him, none of which I value but humbly submit it to your Lordship's grave consideration. Thus, besides the loss of my dearest child, for these thirteen years have I been the butt for all affliction; and desiring to creep from under some I moved the King's Majesty that he would be pleased to interpose his command for arbitrating these controversies, who graciously assigned thereunto two learned, grave, judges, Mr. Justice Walmsley and Mr. Justice Warberton, who, spending many days of hearing, they found my son so obstinate, as one of them told him, they needed not to trouble themselves, when he would have no end but what he liked, and thereupon gave the business over, saying the Chancery was fittest to order it: so as, unless your Lordship, who best understands all and can best overrule all, will in your charitable commiseration vouchsafe to be the blessed peacemaker, I hope for no end, their purpose being by gaining time to eat me forth of life and living: and this I speak the more confidently for that I know his arbitrator Sir Richard Harper will conclude nothing without his liking, as himself told me upon the like occasion. I beseech your Lordship give me leave to touch his unnatural proceeding with his dead father and me in violently pulling from me the more part of the farms in Shelford, which I had by way of purchase for confirming the leases my husband made of my lands and jointures. I brought my husband, when his estate was very mean, lands worth 24000*l.* as it appeareth by my sister of Harrington's part, which by sale rise to that sum. I assured the same lands to my husband and his heirs from myself, daughter, and other heirs whatsoever. I received back my own lands in jointure with an addition of 500*l.* a year more whereof my son hath bereaved me the one half. My husband leased all and left me the bare old rent to live upon, in consideration whereof as aforesaid he gave me his lordship and demesne of Shelford for life, part upon rent, part without rent, great part whereof this son now taketh from me, all depending upon the same title of Smith's farm; and that being the last Term by your Lordship dismissed the Chancery and left to the Common Law. I am much ashamed in presuming thus far upon your Lordship's patience but all is true I have spoken and nothing aggravated beyond truth. Your Lordship is a great



judge and the greatest of this state and a father : I a poor distressed widow and a most unfortunate mother, I most humbly submit all to your wisdom, with my daily prayers to God for your health and prosperity as being your's most humbly to command, Margaret Stanhope.

A letter to SIR EDW. HOBBY in requital of his by one of his mortal enemies.

Sir Edward Hobby. Although you rather deserve beating than chiding and well both, yet be you comforted with assurance that we know better how to employ such as are jealous of our wrongs or ready to spend their lives when dishonours are done to us than to put them upon so weak a service. You are the fittest combatant for yourself and your own hand hath made deeper wounds in your reputation than the best surgeons in Europe can heal. When so foul a heart is discovered, it is in vain to pour in *balsamum* ; but I mean not to chide ; for, albeit I am persuaded that it would be a trial more agreeing with your manhood, yet I know it so discordant with my own temper that by the use of it I should highly offend myself and yet leave you unpunished. It shall, therefore, suffice me to do that whercunto my nature is most pliable which is to lament your rash adventure with unfeigned pity, and with no less charity seeking to impress in your better part a perfect hatred of that unsober sin which by the best construction drew you to it. This I take it may be most conveniently accomplished by bringing to your view some of these misfortunes that are entertained by yourself to be the constant followers of your last days. I find no points of doctrine in your whole epistle. If there were any, I would nevertheless forbear to answer them ; for, as I am ignorant that there is and ever hath been a certain company of men deputed to the office of teaching in God's church, so I know myself to be a woman and you to be no divine and consequently neither of us to have any right to that place ; yet be you not deceived by thinking that for any of us that have the honour to be called catholics do either despair or fear to give reason of our faith in the presenee of any mortal man. To return to my purpose, the which I have to deal with is your discourtesies to ladies. The offence is not more great than apparent. The faults of value wherewith you meant to charge us are chiefly these ; foolish wilfulness in opinion and disobedience to our husbands, wherewithal you would infer that we are dangerous to the State and bad subjects ; something there is more which I reserve to put down at a fitter opportunity. It shall not need here to aggravate anything to procure our just acquittanee, or your like condemnation, when neither of them can be doubtfull to any reasonable discretion. It shall therefore content me to deliver that it hath pleased you to impose all these upon us for the profession of no new or fantastical religion but such a one as the putting on of a square cap in Oxford will

not warrant you to meddle withal and wherewith you have so little to do and less ability to deal that the world must needs perceive your end to be derived from some degenerate malice that hath diverted your blood from all taste of gentry. The manner of your writing and the person to whom will serve to confirm it, as well as the matter. Your sending this worthy work to press and so to the eyes of all sorts of people doth very well manifest the earnestness of your desire to abuse us, together with the low conceit you hold of us, whence it will necessarily follow that, as you have made of all sorts witnesses of your ungentle mind, so you shall reap at each of their hands a due reward. First, for our own parts, we are sensible of our injuries and although we have not been used to such heavy burdens yet we can gather by the weight of them that some ass was unloaded before they were laid upon us, to whom we could wish no greater penance than that his load of such cheap stuff might be heavy and his head lighter, till clear experience teach him to find some fitter utterance. Our husbands (who never yet made complaint of our disobedience or thought themselves to be possessed of wives more foolish or wilfull than their neighbours nor ever perceived themselves to be scorned or contemptible for our sakes, as you would make men believe they are) may justly wonder from whence, not such knowledge but such impudency should proceed, and may draw in an equal yoke of wrongs with us in regard of our so striving to disgrace them by slanderous surmises. And neither is there Lord or Lady or any other of higher or lower order, of what religion soever, that can be freed from the danger of a tongue like yours whose hammer is bare imagination that ever leaves discretion behind it, whereby there is not left uninterested in our quarrel your next of kin. It is well known that princes hate the traitors, when sometimes they love the treasons by them wrought, and so much more they dislike him that ventures upon wicked and unmanly exploits by how much themselves are more eminent and noble in place and disposition. Therefore there is no hope that you should be relieved by the worthiest, and the meanest will surely think that, if you trade upon us, you will devise some greater ignominy for them. Thus of all hands the justice of our cause assures us of aid against you. Knights, whose honourable order is chiefly held by defending the innocent, ought to be your professed enemies and not hereafter to count you one of their number, having so deeply infringed their laws; for who could make a direeter forfeit than by offending with the same hand the same persons whom he was bound to defend? To pass over your present purpose (which might be more envious than we are willing to conceive) the infamy that may redound to us in after ages is insupportable when those who be now witnesses of our better behaviour shall pass with time and us. Who knows whether we shall then be taken for such as you describe us or no? Or whether we shall not become the subject of

some mean ballad maker as we are now of a like book maker, if we should suffer you with that silence which you enforce us to break? Who would not then think that we had set our honours and honesties to sale, considering so much may be aptly gathered out of your picked pieces of Scripture, how covertly soever you think to carry it? For who can imagine that would not have avoided those dangerous terms of staining and whoring, if you had not been delighted (at the least) to leave them open for ever to the worst interpretations? In this and the rest you are not exempted in conscience from the reputation and punishment of a base libeller, only by placing your name at the end you have made yourself more secure and it more infamous. If any woman shall henceforth speak of you with better regard, let her become an owl to all the rest of her sex. If any man, never may gentlewoman put up her mask at his salutation! Nurses shall need no other bugbear to still their crying babes but your black name. These and many other mischiefs will arise of your heady and barmy proceedings. Men that never knew nor heard of you before will now enquire what kind of creature he is that durst be so uncivil with us. Whereto some will answer that you have always been rude, and some that you have ever thought so much better of yourself than there was cause, that you were likely to bring forth some monstrous absurdity; another will tell what stale gulleries have been thrust upon you and how long you have remained the sporting stock for inferior wits to practise upon. And some will not stiek to reveal the foulest things that ever you have committed. By these means the citizens and their wives will often put you in danger of pressing to death to behold you. When you come abroad the boys will follow you as a prey of theirs, and at other times they will bear your name in their mouths to keep them company: only the wise will shun your society; foreign nations that have not been acquainted with the like demeanour to their nations will either censure ill of the whole kingdom for you, or of you above all that any kingdom hath bred. If any shall let his tongue loose to mischief or undeeent boldness, mothers shall teach their children to say, he is like Sir Edw. Hobby. Those that are carried away with any opinion of your learning will take away occasion to use the proverb that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men. Those that are more inward with your weakness, as well of learning as judgment, may fitly protest that blind byard is ever the boldest. Thus you have presented yourself upon the general stage to play a most ridiculous prize, as I charitably suppose in the heat of strong drink: wherefore I beseech you, in the same zeal in the which I first undertook to make that default seem loathsome unto you by the bad effects that you will not refrain it, and make much of that little sense that is not yet made unseparable from it. In this you shall please God far better than by performing the bad office



of a prophet filled with new wine, that when you shall be asked who sent you ? you may be compelled to draw your authority from a master that leads his servants into ditches and makes them utter nothing but uncleanness. It were well you would think of my counsel : as for us, we shall find ways to clear ourselves of your imputations according to reason and religion if not according to your fantasies. The loyalty [of] our hearts we have better means to approve than by giving you satisfaction. Of our convenient understanding truth, and due observance to our husbands, we will [give] testimony to them and such others as are able to judge and not to you. In whatsoever else you have touched us or any other by the way for our sakes it is enough for us and their credits to let it be considered who did it, which shall ease me of further labour. The general cause and my pity of your folly hath urged me to thus much. In all things you know how we esteem you. Farewell.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to the EARL OF SOMERSET. 1614.

My Lord, I have attended some opportunity of speaking with your Lordship which I could not have without much importunity, which I have forborne, coveting rather by this mean to present you my desire and service, which also I had not used, had not the progress for a long season separated me from your presenec. My humble desire is your Lordship will be pleased to have me in your honourable remembrance according to occasion. His Majesty vouchsafed to accept me for his servant at Edinburgh : I served him near nine years in his Privy Chamber whence he pleased to remove me to office in the late prince's household, since whose death your Lordship at Royston honoured me with some acknowledgment of my serviceable endeavours towards yourself during that service and at Tibbals [Theobalds] the last summer you pleased to bring me to kiss his Majesty's hands ; who graciously promised me place among those he purposed first to prefer. If now this time serve that your Lordship suppose that I may be useful to yourself I humbly submit myself to your pleasure therein. I am loth to retire to a private condition, having spent so many years in his Majesty's service. Much of age I bestowed abroad and during Queen Elizabeth's time endeavoured to fit myself for both civil and military employments. What my affection hath been to your particuar, Sir Harry Nevile of himself, and Sir Robert Mansfeld from the late prince, can witness. Nevertheless is it far from me to claim anything for due. I depend wholly on your Lordship's favour for which I must and will be thankful and in the meantime remain your Lordship's.

THE SAME to MONSIEUR LE COMTE de BEAUMOND. July 22, 1614.

Monsieur. Veu que mon fils vostre ancien serviteur est le messenger de la presente, je n'ay sceu faillir de vous presenter

par sa main mon tres affectionné service, quoique la honte que j'ay de mon defectueux language m'en destourneroit si ce n'estoit que je me fie en vostre benignité accoustumé. Il est bien vray que je n'ay jamais hanté pas un de vos ambassadeurs depuis vostre partement d'iey : nos façons se sont grandement changees depuis et eux de mon rang n'ont rien a faire que d'aller a la chasse ou de vivre ehez eux en oisivite, pour s'engraisser comme des moutons ; car nos grands qui gouvernent le timon ont bien trouvé d'autres et de moindre estoffe pour manier les affaires d'estat et le roy n'en pense point tellement que ce n'est que temps perdu et argent aussy pour voyager ça et la et de tracasser par mer et par terre, et cependant quitter le bon repos de nos maisons et laisser ruiner nos biens par des coquins. Cela non obstant j'ay bien voulu laisser faire voile a mon fils pour voir la France et pour visiter aussy les autres endroits de nostre Chrestienté, esperant que son sieele luy sera plus favorable et plus reeognoissant de la vertu q'on trouvera en luy. Quoyque soit, il appendra peut-estre (passant par les mesmes escoles) la patience de son pere, et que la vertu soit desirable pour ellemesme. Pardonnez moy Monsieur de vous avoir romper la teste de cestes folies comme celui qui est, Monsieur, vostre tres affectionne pour vous faire servicee.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to LORD DINGWELL. 26 August, 1614.

Noble Lord and worthy father, to which name I cheerfully ascend seeing you have vouehsafed in love to descend to eall me your son : neither is it always ineongruous that the son be elder than his father, adoption being never governed by years but by affection, as in many particulars I should make it appear, if I were driven to write a volume in the apology thereof. Let me, upon this opportunity, by the hands of this your servant, present you my service, or rather a tender thereof till you shall please to command it or find it worthy the calling for, it being far from me to remember any other particular, being taught by all books, divine and human, that the father cannot forget his son, especially a son begot from choiee and free election. And thus give me leave to kiss your hands and with wishing you your desired good fortunes to subscribe your Lordship's ever assured son and affectionate servant.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to his eldest son MR. JOHN HOLLES, the 18 of September, 1614, being at my Lord Norrice's in Oxfordshire.

The superscription :—To my very loving son John Holles esquire at Rycote.

Jack, I began to be weary of looking for you and therefore, if this messenger had not come so opportunely, I had sent to you to-morrow ; for I have hitherto deferred my going into Lincolnshire, whither I purpose to go so soon as you come

hither which, if longer deferred, the journey will be more cumbersome to me, winter accompanied with foul ways and foul weather so near approaching ; besides many of your friends here would see you before your going over : which visits will be best performed while I am in the country which cannot be now long. I persuade myself you may say with Signor Dati that you have *trovato una buona casa*, whence *chi sta bene non si muove* forbids you to depart, for I know not a Lord in this kingdom to whom you and I are more bound for his noble and essential favours. Nevertheless you must dispense with your appetite and obey your occasions, in which I doubt not of his honourable pardon. I will say no more hoping ere long to see you. In the meantime and ever God bless you with his grace and guide you in all your ways to your own comfort and His glory, Amen ! Haughton this 8 of September, 1614.

FRANCIS COTTINGTON to SIR JOHN HOLLES, from Madrid in Spain, 6 November, 1612 *stilo vet.*

Honourable Sir, I may not omit the convenience of this messenger (who is a servant of his Majesty's that came hither with my lord ambassador) to remember my service unto you. What answer this king hath now at length given me in my business you will understand from Mr. Treasurer, unto whom I have largely written it. If my lord ambassador had not commanded my stay, I would have seen you before this can come to your hands ; but am now like to stay yet here some two or three months more to serve you in what you shall be pleased to command. The Indian fleets are now arrived at Seville and bring (in silver, cochineal, anil, silk, and hides) to the value of twelve millions. It troubles me much to see how these proud people laugh at us for being contented to load our fleets with wines, tobacco, sugar, fruit, and such like trifles. One fleet with twelve millions which they have yearly would make England flourish a whole age after. The Indies unto this monarchy are as the loek of Sampson : so long as it remains entire unto them, all Christendom runs a continual danger one day to fall under their tyranny. For the cutting of this loek (and so to make them become as other men) there is no man under the sun on whom I can build any hope but on his Highness whom I hope God hath created with so brave a spirit (and will one day so inspire him) for the effecting of so blessed a work and adding so great an honour unto our country. They here pay their debts and begin to grow rich. Strangely is this state amended with these few years of peace, which I assure you shall no longer last than is conveniently fitting with their policy. Sir John Digby is made a glad man with a fair young son who is this day baptized privately, two gentlemen (his followers) being godfathers—the name is George. We yet know nothing to the contrary but that before Christmas this king will begin his progress for Lisbon and pass through



Seville, there to behold the bars of silver. If this journey hold, it will be worth unto the Duke of Lerma and his children at least half a million. With remembrance of my duty, I rest, your affectionate servant and poor friend Francis Cottington.

A summary of what was done in the Parliament begun the 5 of April, 1614, gathered by SIR JOHN HOLLES who and Sir Jervis Clifton, baronet, were the two knights for Nottinghamshire.

Sir Thomas Parrie the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster having disturbed by minatory letters the election, or rather the return, of the burgesses of Stockbridge by praetising with the baily; who, notwithstanding that one Sir Richard Gifford and Mr. Saint John were chosen, returned according to the enjoiment Sir Walter Cope, Master of the Wards and Sir Harry Wallop; and for sending for two or three of the Commoners of that town by pursuivant to their great charge; and after imprisoned one of them, though this arrest was pretended to be in regard of some waste of woods made by him: the House, upon the reading those letters, sequestered Sir Thomas Parrie from their society: after, heard what the accusers could charge him with and finding their allegations true and the offences to trench into the liberties, put him forth of the House and gave order for a new writ for the election of a knight of Berkshire in his place: and, because the return was adulterate for the burgesses, a writ was also granted to the town of Stockbridge for the like. All this was done in his absenec, he neither being present at the charge the parties laid upon him nor called to hear the sentence: nevertheless that being adjourned till the morrow, which was 11 May, to the end he might repair in person, if he pleased, yet rather then as a delinquent at the bar, he forbore. The afternoon, at the committee for the undertakers, a paper being produced containing articles and a comment thereupon importing undertaking and the committee the more part being risen, Sir William Herbert and Sir Robert Killigrew came to Sir Roger Owen who had the chair and told him he was partial, and the one laying hold on the chair and the other of him said they would see him forth ere he they (*sic*) went, lest he did put trieks upon them. This was the next day certified to the House and Sir Roger Owen compelled by the House to name them. They were both one after the other (for indeed Sir William Herbert named himself) put out of the house and upon their submission received in, and Sir Robert Killigrew acknowledged his fault also to Sir Roger Owen. The fourteenth day Sir Harry Nevil justified the paper, that he was the author thereof, called thereunto by the King, July 1612, which he had endeavoured to keep and divert the King from projects; Parliaments and the love of his people being his best relief and strength; that the King's foreign affairs felt the disreputation of this ill humour of the last Parliament; and though the

House applauded his apology yet the business was left indefinite, the question then being whether they should proceed with the general protestations against undertakings. Upon Monday the 16 of May, the House enter into deliberation of the Conference, and the manner thereof, to be held with Lords concerning new impositions, the dispute whereof, for the fuller satisfaction of some that doubted of that right, was continued divers days by way of a general committee (the Speaker sitting by) with short replies and answers. It was agreed to send to the Lords to crave a conference ; the first was a narration of the beginnings and progress of impositions *de facto*, which Sir Harry Montague was to perform. The second being distributed into nine parts was to be argued three days after, if the Lords would, and no sooner. The Lords receiving our messages returned answer we should hear from them in convenient time. The meanwhile they argued among themselves whether they should entertain conference with us and by plurality of voices concluded, none : at which time the Bishop of Lincoln, Neal, spoke seandalous speeches against the Commons' House, that we were seditious, that they should hear only seditious matter against the prerogative and oath of supremacy and allegiance. These speeches were by a gentleman reported to the House the next day, being Wednesday and the 25th of May. The House referred the consideration of the wrong to a committee, in the meantime all committees to cease. The 26th the House sat in Committee, when the sub-committee, being 44, differed in both these questions, the first, whether we should complain to the Lords or pass immediately to the King ; the next, for a cessation in the meantime. The major part of the committee agreed to call on the Lords, and of the 44, 30 agreed to the cessation, the moderator demanding each man's vote by poll. Then the speaker taking the chair, after a long dispute, the whole House by question concluded in the same opinion and, while a gentleman of the House was speaking hereabouts, the Sergeant told the speaker that the Lords sent a message and the Speaker signified the same unto the House. Nevertheless the House refused to hear them till the gentleman that before was speaking had ended his speech. The message was that for some considerations they could not confer with us. The 27th the House resumed the consideration of the bishop's speech and a sub-committee was chosen to withdraw into the committee chamber to set down the bishop's words for the direction of Sir Edward Hobby, who was appointed to go up with that message : which being in writing brought down, the House left the reading thereof to his choice, the writing being only for his better remembrance. This determined, the Speaker signified to us that he had received a letter from the King, which he read ; the effect was, he was informed, upon grief taken of the Bishop of Lineoln's speech brought to us upon common fame, we had made a cessation ; that we were to remember how much of

the season was past and how little remained, what weighty business we had in hand, and withal that, as we might tread in the lawfull privileges of our predecessors, so that we should remember what power assembled us and what could dissolve us or break us up ; that therefore we should make an explanation of our meaning in that behalf. The House accordingly enter into consideration of an answer but rebuked the Speaker for going to the King, for shewing him our book of orders, and ordered that the afternoon, the whole House being in committee and the Speaker sitting by, we should advise of an answer to the King and how hereafter to restrain these tale-bearers, be the information true or false. The 28th the answer was by the sub-committee brought and presented in writing and allowed by the House, which was that we had made no cessation or reecess ; our forbearance was only an election or preference of one business before another, which was the liberty ever used in Parliament, that in this doing we lost no time, we sat forenoon and afternoon, and, this impediment thrown in by the Bishop of Lincoln's calumination reformed, which accordingly we would expedite, we would proceed with the rest of our work ; it was concluded that the speaker should by word of mouth deliver this, the paper being only his private direction for the matter, that some of the Council should know the King's time of audience. Before this was concluded, the House sent up Sir Edward Hobby with this message to the Lords, that formerly the House of Commons signified their desire to confer with their Lordships upon the right of imposing, they presumed that in the tract thereof nothing had passed from them deserving either their general reproof or the misconstruction of any of their members, nevertheless common and constant fame had related to them some scandalous speeches spoken against the House of Commons by the Bishop of Lincoln to this, or a worse, effect ; that the impositions was a *noli me tangere*, the questioning whereof struck not at a branch but at the root of the prerogative, nay would tumble down the imperial crown itself, that, without breach of the oath of supremacy and allegiance, his opinion was for himself who was sworn to maintain all the King's rights, privileges, and prerogatives, he could not entertain the dispute, that in heat of argument it might be seditious words might fall from some of the Commons' House. The Lords answered, they would send an answer, and accordingly did send us a promise of an answer. In the meantime, Sir Harry Poole with a bill which he pretended could endure no delay, and Mr. Fuller with another against recusants for hindering their growth, offered to void our forbearance and to open the door and flood gate to let in business ; which the House refused and rose soon after eleven of the clock. The afternoon the House sat to hear the King's answer, which was by Secretary Winwood delivered, that Mr. Speaker accompanied with forty of the House should attend his Majesty in the gallery



at Whitehall for audience the day following in the afternoon. The House ordered that none of the King's servants should be of that number, which was pursued accordingly, and the King's answer hereunto was by the Speaker returned to the House upon Monday the 30th, that he accepted our explanation, yet he liked we should proceed in our weightier business (not doing as little children who either would have the pap or nothing) neither to be neglected and both to be done in their season. We received the Lord's promised answer, the effect whereof, couched in writing, was read by their messenger and left with our Speaker, which was that upon common fame only they could not proceed to our contentment; that in express terms we should lay our accusation and proofs. Hereupon a committee was chosen to consider of this answer and to prepare our reply thereunto which was to be the afternoon following. The Committee accordingly met in the Court of Wards and agreed upon their reply, whereof the effect was, that the House could not alter the words of the first message which they held powerful enough to pursue an examination; that in Parliament one House with another for words spoken within either walls could take no other course; it was required, if their Lordships coveted (as they said) the mutual correspondence, that, if the words were spoken, they would proceed as they had promised; howsoever the truth only was desired by them; and that in cases concerning them they should according to occasion be proceeded withal with the like tenderness. After the House had determined this question, which the committee performed the afternoon, it was thought meet to enlarge ourselves and receive to our business again, whereupon the remainder of that morning was spent in reviving and prefixing new days for the businesses heretofore committed and discontinued during this forbearance as aforesaid. Upon Tuesday the 31st the committees returned their reply to the Lords former answer, justifying their public fame well grounded, not altering their former terms nor words, that after no other manner could either House take notice of other proceedings; their Lordships knew what was spoken, they coveted a truth thereof and withal their resolute answer; the message sent up, the Lords returned (as it was styled) an answer answerless; that to sweep away all rubs from the King's business they endeavoured our satisfaction though they advised us that hereafter we should not look for the like, grounding an accusation upon common fame against any member of their House; that the bishop had with tears uttered his sorrow that his words were so misconstrued having no intention to tax any member of our House with undutifulness etc. This answer was much disliked and a committee was the day following, being the first of June, appointed to examine it and to take some *jours* thereabouts. That afternoon the Speaker sat a while for the examining a certificate this bishop gave to one Lovet a recusant, witnessing his conformity; then,

he rising, the committee proceeded and it was concluded to go to the King and leave the Lords altogether. It was in the morning by question overruled that we should not sit upon the Ascension Day, the noes being 248 and the ayes being 191. The day following, being the 3rd. of June, the Speaker reads another message from the King, the effect whereof was that we should despatch the continuation of statutes and such other Laws as we thought meet ; for, unless we concluded to give him an effectual supply, which was the cause of calling this Parliament, we should attend him upon Thursday following to know his pleasure for the dissolution of this Parliament. Hereupon divers motions were made, among the rest the example of Canutus was alleged for sending home his Danes, that these who consumed the King had no freehold among us ; they paid no subsidies, they consumed both the King and kingdom in prodigality, in all riot and dissolution of apparel and other superfluities, no mean contented them, that the pensions forth of the Exchequer came to 70,000*l.* and above, that the King had given to one man 1000*l.* per annum old rent which was more than Queen Elizabeth had given to all her servants in 44 years. At the last it was concluded to take this message into consideration and to prepare a speedy answer thereunto, the general resolution being not to give anything till satisfaction came for the impositions. The afternoon the committee of the whole House sat, all others put by, when the Secretary Winwood and Sir Thomas Lakes intimated the King's pleasure, that he coveted no answer from us ; if we did not the one, he would do the other. Howbeit the committee proceeded and the drawing of the same appointed a sub-committee to prepare it against the morning and to meet in the Committee Chamber. Upon Saturday word came from the Speaker that he had the mumps and kept his bed, and could not come. Nevertheless we sat in the House attending for the Draft from the sub-committee, which was to this effect ;—that being straitened with time we could proceed with nothing effectually nor with that fulness we otherwise intended, unless his Majesty was pleased to give satisfaction in the impositions lately laid without example, huge in number and proportion and accompanied with other circumstances, as claimed by his Majesty twice in open Parliament, which none of his progenitors ever did, and as it were entailed to the Crown ; that without foreclosing and excluding our right for ever we could not now grant any supply which coming after this claim in this manner confirmed the same. Monday the 6th of June, notwithstanding the King had the day before signed a commission to certain Lords thereby deputed for the dissolution of the Parliament that very day, who accordingly sat in their robes all that morning in their House for that purpose, which also they notified to us by their messengers, the Speaker received a letter from the King making some explanation of that former, that the King bound us not

precisely to the effectuating of the supply but now having sat two months, which in his predecessors' days have been the usual period of Parliaments he put us in mind thereof as in the proper place, such considerations falling always in the latter end ; and that, whereas he had signified his pleasure to dissolve the Parliament upon Thursday, now he gave us to understand for some considerations best known to himself his determination was to do the same upon Tuesday. The speaker and those desirous to continue the Parliament took occasion of this explanation, which they pretended had enlarged much our liberty, to frame an acknowledgment of the King's grace herein, to pray the continuance of this Parliament, with promise to perform a liberal supply, with which intention every one came to the House, and thereupon sent up to the Lords certifying them of the letter they had received for the deferring the dissolution till the 7th of June, and falling into a long and an intricate dispute what in and concerning this letter was to be done, among diversity of opinions, at the last Sir Edwin Sands offered an overture or proposition by which he thought to reconcile both the extremes, to preserve the liberty of the subject and satisfy the King, which after long debate the House commanded him to set down in writing : the effect whereof was that the impositions were the impediment of our proceedings his Majesty thereby assuming to himself the propriety of the goods of the subject, which claim so made, whatso upon these terms we gave was a confirmation of his right ; albeit, if it pleased his Majesty to hear one decide in open Parliament, both houses present, the right, in some time convenient, we would also, in time convenient, take into our consideration and would expedite his Majesty's and the kingdom's business : for the better expressing whereof four more were added to Sir Edwin Sands to pen this answer in milder and sweeter terms and in some measure to contract the matter. This was ordered by the committee in the afternoon. In the meantime, signification being made to the Lords by our messenger what we had in hand, they returned us word that tomorrow at 2 of the clock in the afternoon we should meet with them, for sooner they could not, it being a Star Chamber Day. The next morning the writing was brought into the House which differed in substance little, only we demanded security for the hearing and determining this important cause as aforesaid ; it being also alleged that of two things the judges had no cognisance, *videlicet* of the King's crown nor of the general liberty of the kingdom. These were transcendent and above their orb. A subsidy and two-fifteenths were also propounded to accompany that writing as a real testimony of our affections, which motion was diversely entertained, nevertheless the major part seemed to incline to a committee to consider thereof according to the ancient form. This business spent the day till 3 of the clock ; when, after former signification given by



the messengers, the Lords said they would send for us, which being somewhat deferred and hope conceived of the grant of the subsidy, the three of the Privy Council were desirous to know of the Lords if their commission was directly to dissolve or that they had thereby power to continue. They returned, said they had no report to make : whereupon, though desired to put the subsidy to question, the House refused all proceeding and at the last the Lords sent Sir Richard Connesby, their gentleman usher, requiring their repair to them, when the commission was read in Latin by Mr. Boyer, their clerk, and Englished by the Lord Chancellor, and concluded with God save the King. The commission was directed to all the Lords of the Council, the Archbishop of York and some other bishops, all to the number of 30 : the effect whereof was that this Parliament, begun the 5 of April, and in regard there wanted the king's royal assent it was to be taken as no Parliament. And this was so provided for the continuation of some Statutes which were to have force till the next sessions of the next Parliament, now this being neither Parliament nor sessions the Statutes continued as before. Four gentlemen, Hodgkins and Wentworth, lawyers, with Sir Walter Chute and Mr. Christofer Nevil, were convented before the Lords and sent to the Tower upon Wednesday the day following ;—Hodgkins, for applying the *Sicilianæ Vesperæ* to the Scots who consumed both king and kingdom in insolency and all kind of riot ; Wentworth, for interpreting the prophet Ezekiel and the ii. of Daniel to imposing kings, and witnessed in the persons of Philip the Second king of Spain, and Henry the Fourth the last king of France, butchered like a calf with a knife by that base fellow Ravilliac. Sir Walter Chute, spoke against building of stately houses and the fruit of impositions going to them and not to the king who (till they were laid down) should not with his consent be supplied, this speech, aggravated with a letter he (as it is said) sent to the King, caused his question ; Mr. Nevill shewed the miseries of the times and lamented them, compared the Bills of Graee, as they came pared to us, to 'potticaries' boxes, shewed by the civil lawyers' definition the difference between free and bond men, in which state impositions had cast us. All those also lawyers and gentlemen, who were assigned to parts in the conference propounded, and refused by the Lords, concerning impositions, were commanded to bring their papers thereabouts, which upon Thursday they brought to the Council chamber door at Whitehall and there burnt them ; and were all commanded to stay in the town and not to depart without licence. Sir Edwin Sands was questioned for his speech of elective and successive kings, and his rehearsing two verses in Juvenal *Ad generum Cereris sine cæde etc.* ; and Sir John Savile for alleging he had warning from some of his neighbours not to give anything that should confirm the impositions. This Parliament so ending the

Tuesday as aforesaid, the Earl of Northampton coached only with Sir Charles Cornwallis came from Greenwich to London and within two days, after being cut by one Fenton the surgeon, to take away the tumour of his thigh, died the Wednesday following, being a just 'sennett' after his coming to the town. Sir Charles Cornwallis was the Monday before committed to the Tower, being accused for procuring Hodgkins to make that speech.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to MR. JOHN WOOD of Lamley,  
20 October, 1614.

I hear other letters be arrived into the country seconding the former for the benevolence; which, methinks, come something before their time into the world, seeing your answer to the former is no nearer the Lords than the sheriff's pocket, which gives me cause to suspect that their parent dwells not far off, who by this extraordinary officiousness endeavoureth this hurt to his country with small advantage to himself. Yet without sight of them I cannot advise what is to be done nor how. Nevertheless I may conjecture that my host of Rufford would gladly make his service to appear necessary in these parts and thereby translate our aristocratical commission into a 'monarchal' lieutenantcy. For, if only Nottingham look upon the commonwealth, Lincoln, Derby, Leicester, York, in a word all other their neighbours, upon the King, as these mens pliability and obedience will be ascribed to their lieutenants, so shall our obstinacy and stoutness be attributed to the commissioners ill affection or ill government; the beast being the same, the rider different. These foreseeings and cogitations decline me something from that *quod oportet* and draws me with the throng into the broad way of *quod convenit*, which, though not so honest as the other, yet (as our nowadays wise will have it) more courtly and civil; so as I hold it expedient rather to *errare eum Aristotele*, to give as our fellows do, than to offer with one finger to stay a falling house, for the country is also ungratefull, *odunt damnatos*, though for their cause, and *fortunam sequitur vulgus ut semper*. By which means also we may peradventure prevent that man's design who knowing popularity to be odious may insinuate a reason of State, drawn from our separation and therefore error (for it is an error not to do whatsoever is commanded), that from different forms proceed different fruits, that, if this county had been bitted as the rest, it had yielded as much milk as the rest, nor had it given this example of schism to the weak brethren, one scabbed sheep being sufficient to infect the whole flock. Which being thus in this particuilar must be prevented *in futuris*, from these premises I conclude we must give; but the question is how and what? My opinion is; so as the sum arise to a subsidy the Jewel House will not examine from whom, for it is venison and

*non inquirendum est* whence : and this gross I hold better than to inventory by poll, where rather a duty is performed than thanks expected : not that the smallness of any man's offering would prejudice him with the King for *aquila non capit muscas*. He thinks not of him and, be it great, be it small, it shall be forgotten ; but to avoid their bad construction who about princees have more power to do a harmless Israelite a ' showde ' turn than will or disposition to do any man good. And the rather also because the Parliament inclined to a subsidy, whereof in a few days she had been delivered, if some ill midwife had not by preeipitation caused an abortion. And for this embryo, and so qualified, let it go ; the difference only being that, whereas *more majorum* these contributions were granted from the countries by their presentatives generally, now every man from his own particuler motion offers the grape of his vineyard severally. I speak thus freely to you as to my friend ; and, as I counsel you, I would do myself, that if I thereby err I err ignorantly. Take it therefore into your consideration, digest it well, and use it to the best, for it behoves us in these times, though innocent as doves, yet to be as wise as serpents. My wife joins in the remembrance of our love to yourself and Mrs. Wood : and we both pray for fair weather that you may with more ease perform your promise. In the meantime and ever shall I remain etc.—Haughton, 18 of October, 1614.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to the DUKE OF LENNOX, from Haughton,  
22 of October, 1614.

My Lord. By reason of my children's sickness, it was far in the year ere I could get into the country that I am forced by my occasions in these parts to borrow now of the winter what thereby I lost in the summer, so as November also may be well advanced ere I come to London. In the meantime, though I distrust not your lordship's memory of your servants, neither can hope of much advantage from the King, though my service hath been in some measure, and that I am not without his gracious promises, yet thought I good to present my humble service hereby, accompanied with my best wishes for the increase of your well deserved honours and fortunes, wherein, by the place your Lordship hath vouchsafed me in your favour, I persuade myself my good is also interested. Of other my friends I have no assurance. These latter years have given me experience that money prevails beyond all obligations of merit or nature, so as I wonder not that great men have cause to complain of those they term their friends for leaving them when their sunshine setteth ; seeing they choose neither kindred nor virtue but esteem men *quasi pecudes* for profit only, who having their turn served will repay such ladders with the like coin. I speak not this to save my own purse, but even in that I will be found as thankfull : so as I well hoped I might have been as soon called to the reckoning as Sir Fulk Grevill, who by



sitting still hath gained a greater hire than they that have laboured the heat of the day. Nevertheless I envy him not : his good parts deserve looking after and howsoever the diee shall run I will ever be found your lordship's, etc.

THE SAME to MR. JUSTICE WINCH.

Sir, I presume from your former favours to make this request to you which I persuade myself will appear reasonable ; otherwise though willing enough to satisfy my friends, I should in respect of you forbear. The matter is, my eousin Wastnes suspecting that, through the unwillingness of others who by friends may excuse themselves, he (though the unmeetest) may be appointed sheriff for this county, hath his humble suit to you, in which he hath craved my eompany, that you would please to leave his name forth of your bill, the rather for that in estate he is much inferior to others and in profession a student of the law, to which eourse (though by reason of eountry business he hath been a stranger for two or three years) he purposeth presently to return. Which so being, I presume you would rather encourage him, this rank being ordinarily exempted from ministerial places of such like nature, these times also (as it is eonjectured) requiring a swordman, especially in this county where the sheriff performeth the duty of a lieutenant. So much and more he is present to affirm. With which, if you shall please to be satisfied, he humbly also craveth your mediation to my Lord Chief Justice ; which your favour I shall according to my power and fortune acknowledge very thankfully and in the meantime remain yours etc. From Haughton, this 22 of October 1614.

THE SAME to SIR FRANCIS BACON.

Sir. This gentleman my cousin Wastnes, whom not long since you knew a student in Grays Inn and thenec for these two or three years retired through the importunity of country private affairs, suspecting that, to save an abler person from the Musters, the priek may fall upon his head at this appointing of sheriffs, hath desired my means to my Lord Chief Justiee to keep his name forth of the bill which, as I would willingly have afforded, knowing many in this county for estate far beyond him, and conceiving his profession, being a gown man and towards the law, for the most part privileged from ministerial places of this nature, so understanding my waters too shallow to earry a vessel of his Lordship's burthlen as having never by familiarity or merit interested in him, I advised with myself whom I had powerfull to work this favour from him and who peradventure in his love to me would therein lay him aboard ; and so came I to fix my eye on you, presuming rather from your love, which hath been faithfull to me in the yield of so many favours, than from any my merit and desert otherwise

than by your acceptance of my thankfulness, whence you may believe that, my fortunes being better, my service may prove also of a higher quality ; and therefore I recommend this desire to your worthy care and earnestly entreat you will be pleased to solicit from the reasons aforementioned my Lord Chief Justice to spare his name from among the *candidati* for this next sheriffwick and the rather for that these times (as some do calculate them) require a martialist or swordman, especially in this county where the sheriff supplies the duty of a lieutenant. Sir, I beseech you excuse the length of this letter which, as in respect of your little leisure should have been of a far less dimension, so much against my will am I enforced in regard of the cause and wherefore I have presumed to invest you therewith to extend the same *ultra debitos terminos*, for which I crave your pardon as for many my former errors and hope to obtain the same as being yours ever etc. From Haughton, this 22 of October, 1614.

#### THE SAME to my Lord DUKE OF LENNOX.

My good Lord. This gentleman my cousin Wastnes having cause to doubt that the judges for this circuit may present his name to the King to be sheriff for this county, because the best sort and those far beyond him in all conditions find ways to creep out and to excuse themselves, hath entreated my best means in his behalf ; and I, having no other else to resort unto but to your Lordship by whom I can believe my desires to be respected, do humbly entreat you would vouchsafe to patronize his cause and to keep that blow from his head, both because his estate is much meaner than any others there nominated, that he is a student of the law, which profession is ordinarily freed from these charges that they may the better intend their vocation, and because he is a young man nothing in regard thereof, and his aforesaid profession exercised in the country government ; which reasons will, I persuade me, so prevail that the King will choose some other fitter for his service. Which submitting to your honourable consideration I humbly take my leave and rest your lordship's etc. From Haughton, this 22 October 1614.

#### THE SAME to SIR THOMAS LAKES.

Sir. How comes it about that I hear of my Lord Knolles Master of the Wards and a Sir Fulk Grevill Chancellor of the Exchequer, and nothing of Sir Thomas Lakes ? The parable in the Gospel giveth as great hire to him that came the last as he that came the first hour, but I never read nor heard that he that wrought not at all in the vineyard had any thing at all from the lord of the vineyard but was shut forth with the foolish virgins. From the 24 of March 1603, you have been a continual and a painfull labourer. No Progress, no Royston dirt

hath wearied you, so hath your spirits and pen travailed in all occasions, neither hath any man eased you in these labours, while Sir Fulk Grevill lived at Warwick or Hackney, served only himself and his own affections and grew rich. It is true he walked sometimes in Whitehall Galleries where peradventure he found a way readier to preferment. I confess he hath great parts and, if the King had sooner taken to him sooner had his service been found useful; but then was he conceived to be a vessel of wrath. Some had told tales of the Lady in the Tower and of councils held at Rufford and other places. Let this notwithstanding pass with the rest as one of our new *arcana imperii* by which none ought to despair, be his merit never so bad; nor any man be confident of reward, be his merit never so good. If I had left the King at Newcastle I might by avoiding these 12 years' expenses, even these 6 lean kine of Pharaoh, and by a quiet and frugal course, confining my journeys within the smoke of my own chimneys, have bettered my estate 10,000*l* and peradventure have been much nearer the Cape of *Bona Speranza* than now I am; so as I have much cause to censure and repent myself had I not served at St. James's two years which, as they fully recompensed me for the former eight years, so while I live shall I live contented in the remembrance of them. Sir, I beseech you pardon me this free speech and expound me the best way; seeing, if I err, my affection to you and myself causeth the same, not envy to anyone's good fortune. My desire was to present you my free and faithful service and love from the same heart I carried to your worth before you were a counsellor, and that without ceremony, and a little to breathe out the longing I have after your preferments; though seeing the wisdom of this time is so resolved, I am well pleased to sit still and look on. My children's sickness spent me so much of the summer at London as my occasions here constrain me to borrow more of the winter ere I return. Wheresoever I am, I shall be ready to express myself to the most of my power that I am yours etc. Haughton this 22 of October, 1614.

LORD BURGHLEIGH TO SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Sir. I received a very kind token of your love that put me in mind of the place from whence I came thus far, but you know I have a very special gift to retire and so I quickly came into myself where I purpose to remain all this winter at your service, *paucis contentus vivere disce domi*. I could write you from hence news of the King of Denmark's arrival with a page and one gentleman; how his ill habit made the gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber hardly admit him; yet being discovered, he was suffered to go without any warning directly into the Queen's withdrawing chamber where she was at dinner. He came out with three ships pretending some little sailing, as his custom is. Some thirty leagues off our coast he put himself



into a fisher boat and landed at Yarmouth, from whence he came post to London and there stayed in an obscure place till an old, ill favoured, eoach was brought him out of Smithfield. This, as I think, will prove nothing but he came to come ; it may be otherwise, but I am ever rash either to speak or write to you, the fruits that ancient security hath begotten. You will now say to write Ripon news to Tuxford-in-the-Clay was never done. I desire that my hearty well wishes to you might not come naked without requital of some part of your kindness, that what I cannot perform in deed I may yet discover a desire very affectionate to do you service. William Burghley. Snape, 1 August 1614.

P.S.—I pray you remember my service to my lady. My wife remembers her love to you both.

From LORD NORRIS to me the 19 of October, 1614.

The superscription :—To my honourable good friend, Mr. JOHN HOLLES.

Sir. I am glad to hear your journey is not yet entered into. I hope now you have made so long a pause you will not at all begin it. The fruits of travel your education hath already furnished you with, as the languages and exercises wherein you are a master, as riding, and fencing, and the rest. For in you it appears a man may have all these and yet never see the Louvre, which when you have and been at Paris will be no such wonder as before. My man hath out of Flanders brought three horses whereof one is entered at the pilier and is like to go in capriole very high and handsomely : he is a Frison, but the other two are horses of Flanders and good for nothing. Your extreme bounty amongst my domestics I am ashamed to think of, your entertainment not being proportionable. Wherefore I should be glad to have occasion to see you hereafter to make amends for it. This last deluge of waters hath drowned multitudes of my conies, wherefore I have only sent your father two couple, which weekly I will do (the portage defrayed) whilst the season lasts. So I kiss your hands remaining your faithful servant, Francis Norreys.

P.S.—My horse at the pilier would be excellent for you, if it pleased you to endure the dulness and solitariness of this place which is as ready to serve you as any house of your father's. Ryeott, this 19 of December, 1614.

My answer to my LORD NORRIS the 21 of December, 1614.

My noble Lord. It is true I am not yet entered into my journey being newly come out of the country, where we have been beleaguered with waters all this winter, but *quod defertur non aufertur*. Towards Candlemas at the furthest I purpose to hoist up sails for France, ere when I hope to have the honour to kiss your lordship's hands : for howsoever it pleaseth your

lordship to be pleasant with your poor servant he is yet furnished with no more knowledge than to know that he knows nothing, and therefore, my good Lord, I protest I do every day more than other desire to take my journey; not that I see men in these times for their sufficiency the more regarded or sooner rewarded, but the better to enable myself in particular to do your lordship service that your former favours may not seem altogether unworthily placed on me; who, as I am therefore infinitely bound to your lordship, so will I by all means study to deserve that at the least I may presume to subscribe myself, as I am, as an earnest penny of my faithfull affection, your lordship's most devoted servant, John Holles. London this 21 of December, 1614.

LORD NORRIS to SIR JOHN HOLLES, the 19 of December,  
1614.

Sir,—Your last, because it was folded up after the love-making fashion, made me start as it appeared far off before I saw the character, by which I should soon have known it to be yours as being perfectly well acquainted therewith by reason of the often trouble you have put yourself unto, whereby I have passed over the sad and solitary hours with more tranquillity by far than otherwise I could. I have twice this quarter been saluted with letters in the little volume, pretty privy seals from one party whereof I assumed the courage to deny the last and so have lost all hopes of felicities and honours might have come to me from thence whence that letter came. For the boldness seemed to me exorbitantly great, no knights being made at my house when his Majesty was there nor nothing of moderate countenance reflecting on me. The king for the most part sequestered contrary to his custom within his bedchamber to be twice immediately foraged upon. But it is usual that those persons that overvalue their own wits do so far 'mismise' other mens as to think they may as easily be led by the nose as horses to water. Yesternight here arrived my half brother my lord of Lincoln's son, yeleft Sir Harry Finces, who came directly from Newmarket a hunting place of late election, from whence he reports unto me a mass of things but nothing so distinctly as much may be collected from. Concerning the good *recueil* that my lord of Southampton receives from the king I assure myself you hear, who is somewhat removed from my Lord Walde[grave] and estranged, which makes me confident in my former opinion expressed unto you that my lord of Southampton's absence at the king of Denmark's being here was not accidental or for the Spau water so much as for other politie consideration. Of the king's sore fall of late were frivolous to write being a thing generally known and lamented. It seems not to have been a trifling bruise but such a one as it is to be prayed he may no more feel the like. What I wrote unto you formerly concerning the death of Sir Peregrin Bartue

you find otherwise, which by my troth I am glad of. He lodgeth in the house I was accustomed in the Old Bailey where you have done me the honour to visit me. When you see him as I assure myself you will, take some occasion, I pray you, to name me that I may know how the sound of my name relisheth in his ears which if it appear not disgustful I will send to visit him, for his long, lingering, sickness gives good occasion for such a compliment and I persuade myself the nice interpreters of the laws of duels cannot think it any base or abject insinuation for me to do so. Herein I pray you counsel me for in the folding up and ordering that matter and the dependencie thereon rests much of my worldly affairs. The disaster of my Lord Sheffield's posterity by water makes me bethink myself what it is to leave a family either extinct, ill furnished or falsely; and therefore *in hoc unum eunt dies in hoc noctes hoc opus est meum, hæc cogitatio, imponere veteribus malis finem*; I mean concerning the disasters of my nuptial fortunes. And this I think no time preposterously chosen, his brother my Lord Willoughby being as I hear sick, likewise another of his brothers lately dead in France; this man languishing and unlike ever to be of force to make a man to fear him. The settling of my estate is revocable ever (wherof I lately advertised you) and it is so distributed as no huge portion is interested to any grande, yet order for all without consideration of money or other merchandise, or so much as known to anyone by me more than of necessity were to be employed in executing the specialties and writings, which will make any revocation I shall find fit to make the more questionless in all manner of law and equity and everything that might cause altercation or discourtesy. This course, though it have been to my charge, hath greatly quieted my mind; for the illustrious family and their ereatures are so delighted with contemplation of the extirpation of me and my fathers house as Munson when he was here with the king could not forbear to torture me with questions such as these:—How far Rycott was from Causham, my Lord Knolles his house? Whether all my living lay in the two shires of Oxford and Berks? and whether I did not desire to ally myself having but one daughter, with some luculent family? With such bald, unjointed, chat he pestered my ears especially in dinner and supper time when I sat ever next unto him. He hath of late the superintendency of the king's hawks in which sport, I hear, the king seems not so much to take pleasure as formerly he was accustomed although they be extraordinarily good. The fellow about whose execution the judges were so divided in opinions hangs in the air in chains at the town's end of Newmarket, so, as it seems that question is decided. Thus knowing your leisure not to be agreeable with mine I will no longer trouble you but for ever remain the readiest to do you all respect and service. Francis Norris. Rycott this 19 of December, 1614,



MRS. MARGARET NEVIL to the LADY ANN HOLLES.

Good Madam. I hope you still respect the promise you made to visit the poor old abbey of Mattersey which whensoever it pleaseth you by performing the same to make me so much the more beholden to you although my ability no way serveth to requite the entertainment I had with you at Haughton, yet hoping that you will take in good part such as the barrenness of this place and my poor wants will afford I will be ready with the best I can to make known unto you what thankful regard I still hold of that I then received. In the meantime I can no otherwise deserve your many kind favours than by retaining in myself the like affections towards you. Thus wishing you a long and happy enjoying of all your delights with all the blessings of God that may increase them in you and yours I take my leave, your ladyship's most assured Margaret Nevil.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to his brother MR. THOMAS HOLLES,  
22 November 1608.

Brother Thomas. I received your letter dated 9 November whereby you seem to have writ many other and all unanswered by me, which you say would beget a silence in you, if nature would suffer you and so strongly be you carried with that conceit as you demonstrate to me the equality of each other's degree and what subject (in case other matter failed me) might serve for my letters. For answer; you have now been four years on that side and from you I have received three letters. It may be you have writ more whose miscarriage is not my fault, yet have I been sparing in blaming you as unwilling to prejudge your respect or leisure. If I shall hereafter hear offer from you for, to speak clearly to you, to me you may ever find certain messengers, I shall requite your thought of me; and as I understand you return you my opinion. Hitherto I think no man of what rank soever from two brothers of action can shew fewer letters, and howsoever you martialists esteem us citizens I know myself and am not ignorant of you. Let this suffice. Your money I will pay according to your letter, pray to God for your prosperity, and ever remain your very loving brother, John Holles.

MR. THOMAS HOLLES to his brother SIR JOHN HOLLES,  
the 13<sup>th</sup> of October, 1614.

Brother. I received a letter from you, dated the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, wherein you write of a difference between my brother George and you touching my poor annuity. What you have paid him, as I am ignorant, so of this I am most certain that, for these nine years of my being here, I have received from him all that I had, the 40*l.* in England and your meeting at Flushing only excepted. What you allow me, I very well know not, this I am most sure that, however you please to scant, God the liberal purveyor of all orphans will for my biding here

provide meat and raiment. I had at the first answered your letter but that I was engaged for Gulick where I remained till that Marquess Spinola bent his forces to Wesell. He there hath possessed himself of all save it; now he continues by Wesell and his Excellency affronting him or rather attending him. What will be, God knoweth. Here I must abide till they part, then I am for that part it shall please our masters to appoint. Thus beseeching God Almighty to bless you and yours, with my hearty commendations to yourself and my good sister, with thanks for her remembrance, I rest your ever loving brother, Tho. Holles. From Ardenburgh a town in Flanders. This 13 of October 1614, *stilo vetere*.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to the EARL OF HUNTINGDON,  
The 7 of July, 1609.

My Lord. I stayed the longer from answering your letter expecting the performance of that your letter mentioned that your servant should repair to me for a copy of the Will and take order for the perfecting the paper book I sent you last which was drawn, according to your own direction to my Lord Cumpton and myself, at your departure hence. But no such came near either of us. Indeed my Lord Cumpton demanded Mr. Harvy twice or thrice at his lodging, who peradventure intending those weighty businesses came not and what your lordship thinks of this business and the quality thereof I know not. I think it now too heavy for me to bear the unanswerable imputation not only of my cousin Stewart, the court, and the world, but of my own conscience, to have consented with my Lord Cumpton to give you 500*l.* for the passing over to us what pretence or interest soever you might have in Dale ere now fifteen months past and all the money paid your lordship and yet no assurance from you to us nor other satisfaction. It is true in this bargain we merely respected your love and for your love and to avoid all controversy betwixt parties of so near alliance, more than doubt of right, we borrowed forth of my cousin Stewart's purse this gratification: the same also caused us to neglect all punctual and legal proceeding with you for in discretion it had been fit we had had under your hand and testimony for what we had given so much money and for this negligence your judgment may worthily blame us than for that we shew due sense where performance is deferred of such rights as so nearly touch us in credit and conscience. This term the book might have been finished, at least agreed of, and much better than when Lord Cumpton is in one place, I in another, my cousin Stewart in a third, and peradventure all at less leisure. I pray God this trust may be well discharged whose vexation is accompanied with this document as hereafter I shall confine myself to my own occasions. But for the present your lordship is to pardon my importunity in this particular; which past shall never be so presumptuous. The business is short; the

paper book is with you ; let your counsel peruse it, reform it to your liking, and return it that it may be engrossed howsoever your mind understood, for things begun necessarily tend to an end but never begun never ended ; and in these terms we may stand seven years and meet when Hercules' pillars join. I would not willingly be tedious like ill music whereof one song is too much. More willing I am to serve your Lordship as being your's assuredly to command, J. Holles. St. Giles this 7 of July 1609.

The copy of a letter from the prince's chief officers to Sir George Coppin for the putting them into commission of peace, penned by SIR JOHN HOLLES, Comptroller, the 10 of June, 1611.

Sir. You know it is the prince's pleasure for his service to have us in the commission of the Peace in these counties where he hath houses, according to which you have a particular note : it remaineth where and how to rank us, in which also, his pleasure is due consideration be had. And now, because the Assizes approaching the commissions be for all parts to be renewed, this matter without further prejudice to yourself cannot be longer delayed, we have thought good to require your despatch herein and withal to deliver you our conceit of our ranking, from the tenderness we have of the prince's honour without aspect to particular interest, which is next to the judges of the circuit and barons' eldest sons. And in this satisfaction I suppose none be wronged, seeing by the King's favour and the prince's we possess those places which in former times have been supplied by principal barons of this realm, and in our persons we should be loth our master's honour should receive a diminution as to be beneath those of our own calling not very extraordinarily distinguished by eminent employment. All which leaving to your good consideration we take our leaves and rest your very loving friends etc. From the prince's court at Richmond the 10th of June, 1611.

LORD WILLOUGHBY to SIR JOHN HOLLES. From Siena the 25 of December, 1602, about the Lady Dorothy. The answer of this letter is folio 210.

Cousin Holles. I had received yours of the 16 of July with much more content if the ground of them had not proceeded from a hasty intelligence that occasioned you, as you write, to make speed to thrust them into my fist. Such advertisers are over hasty in their own apprehensions and merit blame that upon so weak foundations would raise such a building between me and my Lady Dorothy as you seem to like and allow of. You cannot be ignorant how youth pass their time in Court. It was usual for others as well as myself to spend



some hours with the ladies ; and, if your private friend will thereupon infer a public conclusion and upon such familiarity conclude an extraordinary liking, he will gather many false conclusions and deceive himself as well as others. Your opinion of the Lady's person and worth is not without worthy occasion and I am sure it cannot be better than she meriteth. Her nobility by birth, her virtue by education, the love of her honourable friends in affecting her well bestowing, is worthy all commendations and maketh me think myself much honoured by those that think me worthy of such a choice ; but to deal plainly with you and your secret friend, I wish the lady so well as I will not hinder her from a better than myself, and I hope neither her own wisdom and discretion, nor such as wish her well, will advise to think on him that of all other things thinks least of wiving. And when I purpose to take that course, which shall not be before I find myself in another humour, nor so long beforehand, being taught by my sister's unfortunate proceedings to take heed of too much haste, I will advise with my best friends and resolve with my own special liking. In the meantime I hope the honourable father of so noble a lady shall find some worthy match for her best content, and myself shall have liberty to make my own choice of some other : seeing this for sundry respects cannot take your wished effect. And so desiring you to meddle no further in this matter and upon the receipt hereof to give credit rather to me than to your friend that gave you so false a 'fyer,' I rest your very loving cousin  
Ro. Willughby. From Sienna the 25th of December, 1602.

From the old COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON to SIR JOHN HOLLES,  
about her daughter my Lady Dorothe's marriage with my  
Lord Willughby, the 3rd of June, 1603.

Sir John. I do hear that my Lord Willughby is come into England and to the Court. I know you love my Lord and his house, wherefore I pray you, if you find him inclined to marry, let me entreat you make the motion once again to him of yourself for my daughter Dorothe. You can get no discredit by it for she is as well born of both sides as he is. If her portion be demanded, my Lord will give 3,000*l*. I do hear such ill report of the Court as I would be glad to have her from that place, the which by no means can be done but by marriage. I thank God as yet I do hear she doth carry herself with credit which is no small comfort to my Lord and me. If the Parliament break up, I know you will not stay : which makes me desirous to hear what liking you do find in him. If God have not appointed it, I hope she shall do as well. Thus remembering me most kindly to you, I commit you to the Almighty. Dunnington Park, the 3 of June, 1603. Your loving aunt ever Dorothy Huntingdon.

## LADY HATTON to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Sir. We are now a household fitter for a spittle than you for my Lord hath an ague and I am worse than you for a cold ; and yet let none of this quit you but I must see you here before Newark see you. My attendanee of the sick gives me no leave to write at large, but thanks, thanks, and thanks ! for my sister's letter and your former proeeeding, and will end my letter with giving you assurance of my truly loving you, Elizabeth Hatton.

SIR GEORGE HOLLES to his brother SIR JOHN HOLLES,  
the 4th of November 1614.

Brother. The doubtfulness of our proeeedings in these parts maketh my coming over thither uncertain. I cannot send you as yet any certainty what hath been done by the 'college' of the ambassadors in this Cleve action but the princees being weary it seemeth begin a little to understand themselves and are glad to stand to any arbitrament seeing their countries spoiled and wasted by their aids and supposed friends. The eastle of Guliek must be dismantled and all the outworks 'sleighted.' The garrison and likewise all the soldiers of the States that are ingarrisoned either in the Dukedom of Cleve or Guliek shall be drawn from thence ; and so likewise for the Arehduke's forces : what towns they are now possessed of belonging to the princees shall be restored again unto them and the country disburdened of the soldiers. The princees divide the country but so that the means and revenues shall be equally shared. But all this peace is but for two years, and not so long I think it will continue. I will send you more when I have more liberty to write. I send this bearer, King, purposely over for my trunks and things which are there for that this leaguer hath worn me bare. Good brother let your servant deliver them unto him : my horse I would gladly have to be sold there and that you would not be forgetful of this my uncertain estate and lend me your hand a little to raise me. I want time and paper at this time to say any more but that I am your assured loving brother, George Holles.

The SAME to the SAME, the 14 of December, 1614.

Brother. Since my coming from thence I have sent you three letters concerning the oeeurrents of these parts, but it seemeth through the negligence of the bringers they are not come unto your hands but have run the same fortune that other my letters have done. I writ to you then of peace, now I can send you neither peace nor war, the great college of ambassadors being thirty in number, having left the business no otherwise than they found it. The Arehduke's forces are possessed of Wesell and keep it still with other small towns in the countries of Juliers and Cleve ; the States' men have the

rest of the towns, so that the two foolish poor princes have nothing left to them but the vain shadows of titles. Newburgh is now at Brussels, a poor petitioner for his own, and (I think) doth much repent himself of that which he hath done and would be glad that all were again undone. But soft he is fallen into the Spanish briers, so entangled that he will not suddenly get loose. Brandenburg is a little more free because his seconds are more honest. The rest of Spinola's army doth winter in Marchland; most of our horse lie in the bishoprie of Colen where every day is a holiday but the boors lament whilst they laugh. Our masters make a show as if they would willingly entertain a lively war but they want a good second; for the French, though they much court them yet they build not much upon them for that they suppose their own state is tickle. For our King, he is to much wedded peace that he will hear of no divorcement: no! though the Spanish faction hath already given him so many and shameful occasions; but nothing will waken him. Well, we think before Spring their ambassador will be here again to make a new treaty or at the least to renew the old with some new delays. What time will shew us you shall know. In the meantime, with my hearty commendations to yourself, my good sister, and nephews, I rest always to be your very assured loving brother, George Hollis. From Haye, the 19 of December, 1614, *stilo nuovo*.

THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR JOHN HOLLES,  
touching his books of Architecture.

Jack Hollis. You know to him that cherisheth a library books are of price. Here I have sent you all my store of this nature, peruse them, and use them as long as you will; but lose none of them for some cannot be gotten again. The names of them are in this catalogue;—Vitruvius, the father of all the rest; Vignola; Jaques Androuett; Lorenzo Sirigatt; Jaques Perrett; Philibert de l'Orme; Philibert de l'Orme *pour bastir a petit frais*; Sebastiano Serlio; Wendelino Dietterlin; Leon Battista Alberti; Jaques Androuett of the ordinances for building: Paladius you have already, and so fare you well without further ceremonies, for I am your true friend, Northumberland.

LADY ARBELLA [STUART] TO SIR JOHN HOLLES, in excuse of her not coming to my sister Arbella's christening, 1606.

The superscription:—To my very good friend Sir John Holles. Good Sir John Hollis. I must request you to excuse my not coming to you this day with those necessities whereunto I am subject and advise what satisfaction you will have me make to my Lady and you for this disappointment. I have sent you a lady's answer whom I requested to supply my place in that good office I owe you, as soon as I knew I could not come to-day



myself; so that I must desire you either to direct my man to some who will do me this kindness or stay till I may perform it myself. And so with my best wishes to my Lady, yourself, and yours, I take my leave. From Hampton Court the 7 of August, 1606, Your very loving friend Arbella Stuart.

SIR WILLIAM CECILL now LORD BURLEY to SIR JOHN HOLLIS.

Sir. Your letter of the 12th of June I received, whereby I do perceive that you are in no less peril than *in alto mare*, and at the writing of these two lines I stopped to read a letter from you dated the 22nd of waterish June, as you term it, and I can no less than confirm it for these parts; which likewise sheweth that you are still in the midst of a great storm, wherein if I were in the same ship I would not fear. I think myself in the high shore for the present but I may be deceived, for when it is a great tempest the shore is not secure. I do see that stout honesty in all your companions of this Parliament, except some syeophants who are in my calendar, that one of their words shall be of more regard hereafter with me than another's bond. The petition consented unto by the House, the best interpretation of it is that it make unity amongst you and take away 'prateinge' for trifles and opposition to the hurt of the weal public. What the Duke of Anhalt is other than the Queen's kinsman; what religion; whether he depend of France or Spain? I pray you certify me, for his honest speech, which else I had let him return without enquiry. You do assure yourself I am no Maehiavellian neither by art nor nature, for if I were I should enter into the pestiferous vice of ingratitude. So deeply obliging me with your respective letters the best comforts my spirits find in this private place where I am sorry to write myself, yet truly, *inutilis servus*, William Cecill.

P.S.—My wife peeping into this letter doth importune me to dispense with the new fashion and to write her commendations unto you with thanks for your female news: and we are both desirous to see your return before the earth have put off her new apparel.

A letter from my LADY DOROTHY to Queen Ann, penned by Sir John Holles.

I beseech your most excellent Majesty vouchsafe this poor remembrance, some place about your excellent person that, though unworthy to touch yourself, yet your garment, the flood of my ever springing tears may staunehe in some measure. This figure representeth, with different weeds, different effects, the wound of my blaek misfortune and Mr. Stewart's affections and reverent devotion to your saered worth through wonder of your Majesty's powerfull virtues, ever green and therefore fitly by this Indian herb *semper vivum* to be portrayed, which

only of all other lives groweth and flowereth, though severed from the earth her mother's milk. So herewithal humbly craving pardon prostrate I my humblest service at your princely feet; and, though in all other endeavours unworthy, yet will I ever pray for your blessed happiness.

Another end, from "milk," to begin

More words I dare not presume. Sufficeth it these find grace not from our merit but your bounty: and though many in abilities, yet none, in affections and prayers, shall advance your Majesty's most humble and most faithfull, though most unfortunate, servant Dorothie Stewart.

Another from MY LADY DOROTHY to the Queen, penned by  
Sir John Holles.

May it please your excellent Majesty. Having heretofore in my better days had the happiness to be your Majesty's servant and knowing myself ever dutifully faithful though neither worthy nor serviceable I presume in this my cloudy, dark, misfortune to creep to the warmth of your sacred beams being well experienced in the excellent nature of your worth which ever worketh from itself that my willing heart, not my able hand, hath been ever respected by you. My most humble request is your Majesty will vouchsafe me your princely furtherance to the King's Majesty that he would please to compassionate my condition and relieve me from the burden of Mr. Stewart's debts, whereof the sum and how much I am therein interested I have presented to his Majesty: and though peradventure in your Majesty's bounty I shall have innumerable partners, because according to the greatness of your place your grace spreadeth, yet none of those shall forego in the thankfulness of a loyal heart your Majesty's etc.

A letter from my LADY DOROTHY to the KING, penned by  
Sir John Holles.

Most gracious Sovereign. I most humbly beseech your Majesty vouchsafe me the most unfortunate and most com-miserable of all your servants a favourable interpretation that necessarily yielding to the cruelty of my condition, most contrary to my disposition and all evil breeding, I accompany my humble thanksgiving for your Majesty's late princely bounty with a new begging, which even to my own partiality of myself seeming so exampleless and extraordinary, I have therefore presumed with all humbleness to crave the Queen Her Royal Majesty's intercession, that your Majesty for the mediator's behalf accepting the mediation may look upon me with the eyes of your grace and with them rather see what I want than what you have given, wherein also for my own particular and in my own person as I crave nothing beyond that princely addition of the 200*l.* annuity forth of the Exchequer to the 200*l.*

the poor remnant of estate my parents and most unfortunate husband, your Majesty's late most faithfull servant, left me, wherewith I hope to lead a poor widow's life, so only my most humble desire is to be freed from my husband's debts, which amounting to the sum of 1300*l.* as they are beyond the strength of my shoulders to bear yet for the honour of him, untimely gone, my due respects to him, his country, and friends who otherwise may be subject to traducing etc.

LADY DOROTHY to the PRINCE, penned by Sir John Holles, 1609.

May it please your Highness. I have heretofore presumed to move your Highness in the behalf of one John Semery late Mr. Stewart's servant, that you would vouchsafe him out of your princely favour to be one of the pages of your Highness' bedchamber or some such place in your Court. The man Mr. Stewart esteemed faithful, diligent, and serviceable, which my knowledge of him together with Mr. Stewart's continual devotion to your service makes me now the rather presume to renew my humble suit in that behalf and so craving pardon for my presumption I most humbly take my leave.

LADY DOROTHY to the QUEEN, penned by Sir John Holles, 1609.

I most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty pardon me this presumption enforced from the necessity of my condition otherwise inexcusable that again I importune your gracious means and furtherance to the King's Majesty that he would be pleased to deliver my poor distressed estate from the miserable burden of Mr. Stewart's debts. Daily they resort to me for their due and I unable to all other satisfaction covet their forbearance, hoping still of this relief from his Majesty, from whom I covet no other benefit or advancement than to be as Mr. Stewart found me, to which with all humble thanks I acknowledge myself restored by his late princely gift out of the Exchequer, if this 1200*l.* debt were cancelled. I am most loth to be tedious to your Majesty, words being a disease which usually accompanieth misery: howsoever I most humbly beseech your Majesty's pardon and remember (*sic*) your Majesty's most humble though most unfortunate servant Dorothy Stewart.

SIR HARRY CARIE to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

The superscription: To his honourable and much respected friend Sir John Holles knt., give these.

Sir. Although I have retired from Court or world where news is to be heard yet is not the barrenness of the place such as to bereave me of the civility to salute you with my best love which biddeth me signify in black on white that wheresoever I am you have a poor friend that will obey you whensoever



you command and that with much willingness. My noble friend your brother can tell you what they say at the Hague of Gulick and those parts and for myself I can say no more but that you shall ever find me your unfeigned friend to serve you, Henry Carew. Gorgeom this 14 of April, 1614.

The MARQUIS OF LULLIN to SIR JOHN HOLLES, 1603.

The superscription :--“à Monsieur, Monsieur le Chevalier Holles” and at great deal lower was “à la Court.”

Monsieur. En suite de la lettre que vous m’aves escripte, je vous attendray demain, au soir au souper en bon devotion afin que Jeudy sous votre conduite je puisse aller baiser les mains et me lieeneier de leurs Majestés. Qu’est tout ce que je vous veux dire à present en vous baisant les mains et me disant Monsieur votre très affectionné a vous servir George Gieneure, Marquis de Lullin.

The EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND to SIR JOHN HOLLES.

Sir. I must to satisfy my sister intreat you to be against the Bill that is come into the House for the returning the land back to the king for want of heirs male, which in my judgment is such an indignity as they merit no thanks and therefore I hope you will not think it fit to pass else I know I should lose this labour; for since you will venture to anger the greatest you will not care to please an inferior. Yet I assure me the worthiness of your own mind will persuade you to use your power in defending a poor lady from ruin who will be very thankfull to you; and myself ever remain your affectionate friend, Northumberland.

SIR ROBERT SWIFT to SIR JOHN HOLLES, the ii. of November, 1608.

Right worthy Knight. I return your money and engage myself unto you: my power you know is little but you shall find, and truly find, that I will extend it to the utmost wherein I may do you either honour or service. I understand that Mowgrave is in chase being the fairest flower in our great Lord’s garden, which being so, Sir John Holles so ancient, true, and so worthy, a friend, was very unseasonably lost: but such humours possess great magnificoes. If you will please to vouchsafe me three or four words of the proceeding held about that business, I will enroll that amongst the rest of your favours and rest, as I have cause, your faithful friend, Ro. Swift. Tristrop this ii. of November, 1608.

The MASTER OF THE ROLLS to SIR JOHN HOLLES, about George Cross, 1611.

Good Mr. Comptroller. This bearer Mr. George Cross having a desire to do you service, I have been intreated to join unto his desire my request. Let me therefore pray you that you would be pleased to give him entertainment. He is one

who by his late service to Sir Thomas Gorge and the Lady Marquess of Northampton hath given so sufficient testimony of his good and honest carriage and fitness for service that I shall not need to use many words to you on his behalf. If you will be pleased, at my request, to make trial of him you shall find him no less sufficient to give you content in his service than you shall ever find me ready in any kind office to requite your favour, to whom I rest your assured loving friend Edward Phillips. From the Rolls, June 12, 1611.

SIR THOMAS LUCY to SIR JOHN HOLLES, about his son's travelling, 1604.

Honourable Knight. Having occasion to send up my servant to London, I held it for one of the best contentments of his journey to hear by him of your well doing and had not mine own health been an hindrance I might have been eyewitness thereof myself before this, assuring you that you have no absent friend attends your prosperity with better wishes than myself. One thing at your leisure I must crave of you, which you may yield with great fruit to the receiver and no loss to the giver, which is your loving and friendly advice of the best and most profitable course for my son to take in his travel (his years considered) for my desire is by sending him abroad into the world to direct him unto such places as may most enable him for the service of his prince and country, for what patrimony soever I leave him I would not willingly be failing to him in education and then let God give his blessing, as I hope He will, for hitherto, I praise the Lord for it, I have no cause to despair or doubt of him. This is my suit unto you and by this you shall tie us both unto you and wherein I may deserve the same I will ever be most ready who wishing to you, my lady, and yours, all happiness, with remembrance of my wife's and my most loving salutations to yourself and lady, I rest your loving cousin and ever assured friend, Thomas Lucy. From Charleote my poor house in Warwickshire, June 1604.

SIR HARRY NEVIL to SIR JOHN HOLLES, 29 May, 1612.

Sir. When I came from you this afternoon I found the King not gone abroad, nor in a good while after, so as I believe it will be late ere the prince return. But that is not all for I have received notice from my friends that the king is pleased to speak with me himself and am required to be in a readiness when he comes in. I must therefore intreat you to make my humble excuse to his highness that I wait not upon him at this time. But as soon as I have attended his Majesty's pleasure, be it this night or tomorrow or whensoever, I will wait your best opportunity to finish the favour you have begun for me. In the meantime I render you due thanks for so much as I have already received and will ever remain your thankful and

most respective friend to serve you. Henry Nevill. From Westminster, 29 May, 1612.

Another from SIR HARRY NEVILL to SIR JOHN HOLLES, the 30th of May, 1612.

Sir. I lost my attendanee at the Court yesterday by reason that the King was otherwise busied. I am now going thither again for the same purpose, where I may perhaps be put off again. Yet must I always attend and not be out of the way when the King shall call for me, so as I cannot dispose of myself at any time certain till this be past. Therefore I beseech you make my excuses accordingly and as soon as I have waited upon the King, it shall be my first care and suit to kiss his highnesses hands. In the meantime confessing myself much obliged to you for your kind regard which I will ever strive to deserve I remain your's assuredly to be commanded, Henry Nevill. The 30th of May, 1612.

Another letter from THE SAME to THE SAME, the 30th of May, 1612.

Sir. When I sent my man to you this morning, I went presently after to the Court and finding the King gone abroad a hunting, where I supposed the princee would likewise be, I took the opportunity of that time to make a step into London about an espeeial business of mine own. In the meantime my man not finding me at Whitehall, where I willed him to attend me, went home to my house to wait for me there ; so as we met not till the time you assigned me was past. I am sorry for this accident and that I received not your letter in time. But my hope is that my plain and honest intentions will receive a gracious interpretation and that his highness will dispense with this my present necessary attendanee upon the King's pleasure and leisure, and command me afterwards to wait upon him either here, if the opportunity serve, or at Richmond whither I will come of purpose. I acknowledge your great favour in the meantime and will endeavour to approve myself your thankful friend and kinsman to serve you, Henry Nevill. Westminster the 30th of May, 1612.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to SIR FRANCIS VEARE, the 14th of February, 1602.

Sir. Your silenee hath given me such example as hitherto I have forborne to write, supposing my letters too troublesome. Besides, before Christmas the speech went that you would come over, then you stayed till my cousin Sir Horace Veare had procured your pacification with your adversary Cole, and soon after everywhere muttered you were in London and hid yourself. Sir, though your legs are strong enough without crutches, yet these be the fruits of malice, and I am sorry by



your neglecting your friends enemies reinfoeree every day against you ; which free speech I hope your wisdom will receive with the same heart I utter it ; if not, pardon me this time and as they say in France *pour l'advenir jè seray plus sage*. I pray you let me move your good favour towards my cousin William Courtney, who though without starting he hath followed you above seven years yet remaineth he a mean officer, his ' punyes ' long since preferred to command. The gentleman's merit yourself knows better ; his serviceable respect to you I know very much, though some have sought to draw him thence saying that you will never advance him hating all Cornishmen for Captain Lower's sake, by which malicious bruit they seek to make wars betwixt you and all the country. Whereupon, though many have quit the Low Countries which gives some credit to the slander, yet by preferring (among those which remain) this gentleman, whose friends in those parts are great, their mouths will be stopped by their own neighbours and your honour defended, which your inclination to virtue in whomsoever you found it I protested this last summer in Cornwall before many who through these reports were become a little jealous of their kinsman's fortune with you. Wherefore I nothing doubt of your honourable consideration of him when good occasion shall be presented ; with which you shall also bind my thankfulness to you to serve you in my vocation. Which affection I beseech you accept till my better fortunes can bring forth fruits answerable to your desires as from him who will ever rest your Lordship's very loving cousin assuredly to command J. Holles. London this 14th of February, *stilo antiquo*, 1602.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to LADY MARGARET STANHOPE, concerning her Will, 1612.

Madam. Though I writ lately to your Ladyship by Gerlington that I have now nothing to write, yet the conveniency of the messenger inviteth me and something I shall have always to say, though now peradventure in a kind which I never expected. For I hear your ladyship speaketh still hardly of me, which being without a cause on my part will turn more to your disreputation than mine. You say I refuse to be your exeecutor ; which, by your favour, is not so. I refused to be aaccountable to my children and to have such a record of distrust as your will left to posterity and against me whom I thank God no man, no not my own conseiencie can argue faulty with a penny of any man's and for my justification herein, howsoever your ladyship is pleased to misunderstand me, I dare appeal to the greatest enemy I have. Why then should you so injuriously misjudge me in these your bequests concerning my children ? I beseech the God of Heaven open your eyes to your comfort that you may see the way wherein you are and how crookedly others would pull you from yourself and divide you from those

with whom in all your troubles soever you have found help and consolation and now at the last taking advantage of your present weakness both in body and mind would make a prey of you and of whatsoever you shall leave behind you. For if you continue the path you be in I can hope for nothing but confusion, suits, and questions, which if you covet to avoid use the counsel of some honest understanding friend in setting down your Will and an honest man than Sampson to write it. But what God hath determined shall be, to which I submit humbly praying for your happiness and good recovery : and so with my wife's humble duty and mine take my leave and rest your ladyship's very loving son John Holles. From London this 31st of March 1613.

LADY ELIZABETH BUTLER to SIR JOHN HOLLES the 23 of March, 1606.

Worthy Cousin. The remembering of your kindness would condemn me of too much forgetfulness if I should omit to testify the same at least in grateful form of acceptation, assuring you that there are not many kinsmen that I have in the world of whose welfare I would more gladly hear than of yours. And since myself cannot so soon come into England as I could wish, I would very much rejoice if that some good cause might occasion your coming over hither. So leaving to trouble you any further, with my best wishes to yourself, I rest your assured loving cousin Elizabeth Butler. From Cariek in Ireland this 23 of Mareh, 1606.

A postscript in the same letter of the Lord Butler's her husband to Sir John Holles.

Good Cousin. Commend me and her whose writing the above letter is to your good lady and remember me to my young cousins your children ; and assure yourself I should be exceeding glad to see you and other my kinsmen whom you can imagine here for one summer. Your very assured, loving, cousin to do you kind service, Thomas Butler.

SIR JOHN HOLLES to the COUNTESS OF RUTLAND. The 10 of June, 1593.

Right honourable Lady. My sister, (as she saith) by your Ladyship's appointment, hath writ to me to testify a letter which Samuel Mason your Ladyship's servant brought from my father-in-law Sir Thomas Stanhope, which, as it seemed, tendered a match betwixt one of the young ladies your ladyship's daughters and my brother John Stanhope's son. To specify anything to my sister I forbare, because matters of this nature ought only to be known to such whom they do nearest concern, and therefore to your ladyship I have addressed the little knowledge I have touching Sir Thomas Stanhope's letter. I was not acquainted therewith, neither how the foresaid messen-

ger carried the cause with your Ladyship at the time ; since, I have heard that a letter to such purpose was sent from Sir Thomas, which my mother-in-law my Lady Stanhope gave me to understand, who for the special honour and love she affecteth your ladyship with desireth much and seeketh to further the same with Sir Thomas, whereabout also she lately hath had some conference with me which causeth me more assuredly to witness her approvement and desires. Sir Thomas by his daily speeches I know only honoureth your Ladyship and your house, neither hath he with the gentiles of this country bestowed his honouring elsewhere. Myself am no less bound to the same observances and therefore do wish that matter might proceed with both your contentments: in the meantime beseeching the Almighty to prosper all your honourable actions most humbly take my leave and rest your Ladyship's ever in all humble service, John Holles. Shelford this 10 of February, 1593.

MR. THOMAS HOLLES to his brother SIR JOHN HOLLES.  
6 February 1611.

Brother. I hear of your imminent fortune: I make no question you shall have many occasions offered wherein you may pleasure your friends of which rank I am the poorest, in affection as rich as any. If you will finish the work you have been thus long a building I shall add it to the number of your benefits and lay them up in a thankful heart. Thus ceasing to trouble you, although not, praying for you and yours, I commit you to God this 6 of February 1611 from Utrecht, your affectionate brother Tho. Holles.

LORD SHEFFIELD to SIR EDMUND BUSHIE.

Bushie, for so I think thou art called, thou broughtest me a letter upon Friday which thou saidest Robert Tirrwhitt sent me by thee for which if thou hadst had thy payment thou hadst been well served but I forbore thee in regard of the place and the company, not loving to have any scuffling with multitudes, but hearing that thou hast taken upon thee the publishing of the letter, terming it a challenge, and remembering some of thy unfitting earriages towards me, I do by this pronounce thee in this regard to be a paltry, indiscreet fellow: the which though thou art no equal match for me yet that thou and the world may know that if Tirrwhitt had not been a detected man in his valour I would not have refused him I will maintain against thee with my sword when and where thou darest. Edmund Sheffield.



SIR GEORGE HOLLES to SIR JOHN HOLLES, the 10 of June.

Brother. Our business here is as yet at a halt by reason of the slow coming forwards of the French troops who begin to capitulate upon new terms concerning the sending of the 8000 foot they promised to the assistance of Brandenburg. Now they say they will lend them unto the States and let them dispose of them as they please, and for the States to be at the charges in finding shipping, wagons, munition, and all things necessary for them; excepting the pays of the soldiers, and that shall come out of France. The States have sent one purposely to France to know their final determination, who is expected back again within five or six days: and then we shall know what to do. They have demanded shipping of the States to bring them into these countries being in doubt as it seems of the passage by land by reason the Archduke strengthens his frontiers and entertains new forces daily: it being likewise by all likelihood supposed that he will directly entertain the action in the aid of the contrary party. Concerning the companies of our nation that are desired to go are in number thirty, and twenty Scotch companies, our nation in two regiments, the General and Sir Hatton Cheeke, the Scots in one commanded by Sir Robert Henderson. Sir Horace Vear hath placed me as lieutenant colonel to Sir Hatton Cheek. He saith his entertainment by you in England was somewhat strange and not in that free fashion it hath usually been betwixt you. Good brother, if you hear of a footman that is an honest man, recommend him over to me, for I do greatly want one. Your man Oakes I bar by and maine. I commit you to the safe protection of the Almighty, resting your assured loving brother George Holles. Hage the 12th of June *stilo nuovo*.

Another from THE SAME to THE SAME, the 10th of May.

Brother. I received your letter, the which came into my hands by the means of one of the Duke's gentlemen, your messenger died by the way. My best respect and services according to your desire have I rendered to the Duke and for my prologue I presented him with a sable whose beauty and goodness procured kind acceptance. The princess is with the general good liking of rich and poor according to the best manner of the country received and entertained here; every province, aye every town, striving who should bid her best welcome. The Palsgrave is gone with a very small train two days ago towards his country: to-morrow her highness setteth forward and lieth that night at Leyden; the next night at Haerlem; next to Amsterdam and there stay a whole day and two nights; then for Utrecht where she intends to make the like stay; and so to Arnhem. Count Maurice accompanies her unto the frontiers of the States Dominions, and there leaves her unless he alter his determination. Sir Thomas Roe tells me you are to go for France as lieger ambassador. I should be

very sorry it should so happen for it will prove but a prenticeship to you and a place of no commodity to your poor friends. If you should affect such a place, I wish you rather here than there. This ambassador hopeth to get into a Secretaryship in England, where I trust you will likewise settle yourself. Your own discretion and judgment can best counsel yourself. I am your assured loving brother George Holles. Hage the 10th of May *stilo vetere*, 1613.

P.S.—The presents given by the States are four rich suites of hangings, an Indian table, stools, bed, and dishes suitable, a necklace of pearl and a chain of diamonds, chests of marvellous fair diaper and damasks, two pearls pendant for her ears, and other things; the whole presents amounting to 8000*l.* and better.

LADY DERBY of York House, to SIR JOHN HOLLES, the 17 of February.

Good Knight. Whereas there is a purpose of marriage between this gentleman my kinsman Rowley Warde of the Temple and one of the daughters of Mr. Harborne, deceased, so that it be with the consents and good liking as well of yourself as of the mother and elder brother of the gentlewoman who out of their knowledges of the fitness of the match and for the good of the gentlewoman do therefore seem very willing, having given them their free consents, and it now resteth with you to finish so good a work: and for that my cousin Ward is a stranger unto you, whereby you are unacquainted with his estate, means of living and deservings in that kind, which happily may cause you to make some stay of your consent for further trial of him (which may somewhat tend to his prejudice as I willingly would not it should) I cannot therefore, in the love I bear him and my good experience and knowledge of him, but become an earnest suitor unto you in his behalf, desiring you for my sake to afford him your favourable assent therein, with assurance as well of my thankfull acceptance as of his desert of that preferment in marriage, for that he hath a good competency of estate of living certain and great benefits for one of his time by his profession, besides there is pregnant possibilities of his great increase thereof. He is one that I and many my good friends do very much employ in our law causes and my Lord doth very well affect him already and purposeth to extend his favour towards him with special respect, whereby he may have means to pleasure you and your friends as occasion may be. Thus far my knowledge of him giveth me good warrant, wherein, if you make a doubt, and that your leisure will permit you to speak with me, I will fully satisfy you. And so presuming of your friendly respect of him whom I recommend to your favourable consideration, with my kind love to yourself and your good lady, I rest your assured loving friend, Derby. From York House, the 17th of February, 1609.

SIR EDWARD CONWEY TO SIR JOHN HOLLES, the 4 of June, 1611.

Sir, My last to you came out of that true respect to you and the worth I acknowledge in you as I duly did and do acknowledge belonging to the same. I have received your letter by Mr. Bunnington to whom I would have been glad to have done a work of charity for charity sake and a work of courtesy for his friend's sake, of which I intended you the chief. He told me, without any good or civil fashion, I had injured him; he would no courtesy at my hand but his place or one as good; that all my other courtesies were injuries; that he would complain of me; and so he parted. I desire him to spare himself and not me; for, if he shall injure me in his petitions and language, I must of necessity prosecute my remedy in my turn and be far from doing him good and courtesy, and I hope you will think that I have acquitted my respect to you and him unworthy of the favour you moved for him. Sir, this is but to shew how I value you and desire to give you particular notisfaction. The Palatine Elector is in Friesland expected every day at the Hague in his way to feast and be gay with you, from whence and the affairs of Germany I shall pick out something to entertain you with, if I shall know you can read my hand and receive acceptably the service of him who is in all affection at your commandment, Edward Conwey. Brill the 4th of June, 1611.

#### NEWS from BARWIK, 1604.

Upon Friday last being the 7 of this present December, there was seen in the air a strange apparition. The manner of it was divers and to some very fearfull as horrible darkness, and to others terrible lightning. Some saw it like a fiery ball as big as a cannon shot coming from the south east and flying northward, spreading itself and went soon out of sight: the sound that followed was like the shot of sundry pieces of ordnance, though . . . . . yet the . . . . .\* followed was not alike to all that heard it, for they in the country supposed that ordnance had shot off in Barwick and rapidly so . . . the more because there was few or none left. And such as heard it in the town thought it had been ships at sea in fight, the report of the pieces seeming to answer one another so orderly. Our hearts are hardened. Except we see signs and wonders we will not believe. James Lanc.

#### Verses made of certain Puritan Women.

Six of the weakest sex and purest sect  
Had one day conference to this effect  
To change the old and proper name of preaching  
First said the first, 'twere better call it teaching.  
The second, such a vulgar name despising,  
Said it were better call it catechising.

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\* The words *here* have been cut off in binding the book.



The third, not full so learned, but fool so wise,  
 Told that her husband called it exercise.  
 The fourth, a great magnificate corrector,  
 Said, she approved them best who call'd it a lector.  
 Nay, said the fifth, My brethren, as I hear,  
 Do call it speaking, in Northamptonshire,  
 Such, said the sixth, then standing were more fit  
 For such do seldom in the pulpit sit.  
 This last, though worst, yet standing, by consent,  
 Was held the word aptest by this Parliament.

Of the four committed to the Tower about the speech in the  
 Parliament.

Hoskins, merrily sad ; Sharpe, divinely mad ;  
 Chute, ignorantly wise ; Cornwallis wisely precise.

Of the last Master of the Rolls' favourites, Muskett, Warr,  
 Martin, and Farewell, after his death—

The musket is shot ; the war is at an end ;  
 The martins is flown ; and farewell, my friend.  
 Welcome Tom Sanderson.

A Book commencing with a copy of the Letters Patent of 1 October, 1660, 12 Charles II, constituting William, Marquis of Newcastle to be the king's lieutenant within the county of Nottingham, the town of Nottingham and county of the same, and in all other corporate and privileged places within the limits or precincts of the same county of Nottingham ; followed by copies of other patents and documents relating to the execution of the said office. Ending 17 November 1677.

Note on the title page :—A Book of Forest Business.

1673. Have not heard.

Lieutenancy.

## LETTERS FROM COPENHAGEN.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, <sup>November 11.</sup>  
October 31. Copenhagen. I have received yours of the 17th October in which you give me information of what has been proposed for the security of Dantzic and require from me an account of how this Court is disposed in that matter. The interest these people have to oppose the growth of Sweden leaves no doubt with your honour of their forwardness for entering into any measures against them which are consistent with their own security, but having been lately such great sufferers for taking ill their measures they will be very cautious how they expose themselves to the same inconveniences; and, therefore, you may depend upon it they will not engage against Swedes without a previous guaranty from England and Holland to secure them from damages: if such an act of protection for the town of Dantzic be agreed upon between the four Powers (as your Honour mentions) they will be very willing to send 2,000 men under the name of the four Protectors and all their joint charge to defend the town against any aggressor. What effect this may have with the Swede other people may better judge, but I find to be the opinion here that whatever their resentments may be they will think fit to conceal them when they see the Confederacy so strong. The doubt here is of the sincerity of the Court of Prussia who by secret treaty with Sweden and underhand dealings with the town of Dantzic make themselves suspected, but they have that opinion here of the Queen's credit and authority that they imagine it is in her power to fix the wavering of that Court and to determine them to act in a fair concert. They think that the superiority of the Muscovite in Livonia will put the Swede into the necessity of securing Dantzic to keep open the communication with his own country, and to have a place of retreat in case of any disadvantage in the field, they think it therefore high time to come to some resolution before it grows too late for a transport by sea which is the only way a Danish garrison can be put into the town, and that 2000 men with what is already there under a good governor would secure the town and make the Queen mistress of the peace of Poland and that the loss of it will destroy the trade of the Baltic and make the Swede untractable.

Your honour mentions in the close of your letter the wager which has been laid between Pousson and some French Refugees about the fight in the Straits. I have given Mr. Secretary Harley an account of its being decided against the Refugees because they had undertook to bring proof of the French yielding the victory whereas both parties lay claim to it; they own what the French did showed they had enough of fighting but they won't believe we were very fond of second engagement since



we owned a want of powder. This is their way of arguing, but they had acted more prudently to have made no decision at all, but one of the judges was a French Papist and the other a very weak creature, so that the choosing of them was as silly as the wording of the wager. I send your honour a translation of the King's order against selling horses to the French in his county of Oldenburg; the like will be given in Holstein as soon as the Duke is ready to join in it.

P.S. There has been a neglect about translating the order, so that I beg leave to send it in the original.

*Endorsed by Harley* :—Mr. Vernon, <sup>Nov. 11.</sup><sub>Oct. 31.</sub> Received Nov. 16, 1704.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY,

1704. November <sup>15</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, Copenhagen. I hope this will find you returned from the country in perfect health. I believe you wonder to hear nothing of the Danish Ratification after all the pains taken to remove the difficulties that delayed this dispatch. The history of it is, that the Secretary here was resolved his brother-in-law should have all the honour of making the exchange which was the reason why you was told that their instrument was upon the road; while in reality they were resolved it should not be despatched till my arrival here. If I were as ambitious of this imaginary distinction I should make it my request that they might be disappointed by sending me her Majesty's Instrument of Ratification to be exchanged here, but that's what I am very indifferent to, provided the thing be done.

But I thought it my duty to make the King apprehend that the delay has not been of our side. I took to-day an occasion of letting him know how long we had expected his instrument. I found he wanted to be set right and that he was very well pleased to find that we were so ready for making the exchange. I told him he would always find the same forwardness from her Majesty in anything that might either confirm or increase the harmony between the Crowns. The King said several things to express the great value he had for her Majesties' friendship and finding him in a good humour I ventured to tell him, there was one thing which would be taken very well of his Majesty and that was his showing some countenance to M. Plessen, who was by his Master's orders returning hither to look after the same concerns which he had been so long entrusted in. I told him I did not mention this by any direction because it being a domestic matter the Queen would not interpose in it, but from my own great affection for seeing a perfect harmony in the Royal Family that the Prince could not but be pleased with any good usage shown to his servant and that what pleased the Prince could not be indifferent to the Queen.

The King heard all I said to him with great calmness: he said he would not neglect anything that might be agreeable to the Prince or Queen.

That what had happened M. Pless had brought upon himself by pretending to a public character; but if he desire nothing but to be used as a domestic of his uncle's he should not find that anything should be denied him, which might express the regard he had for his uncle. I was very well satisfied with the answer of the King and the manner of it, so I said no more to him and I think I have done no harm in saying so much, for since M. Pless is coming to his post again I thought it was best to know beforehand how he would be received and that without exposing the Queen's name.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1704, November 17, Whitehall.—I have received yours of 4th, 8th, 11th and 15th instant, three of them yesterday the other this morning . . . . Mr. Roseneranz pretends that his Master desires the exchange of the Treaty may be at Copenhagen; I have heard it but this moment and have given no answer to it. I shall be glad of your thoughts upon it. We have finished the supplies and raised 5000 new foot to enable her Majesty to put the like number on board transports to act with the Fleet; this with other new charges makes the sum arise to near 5,000,000 sterling, which must be raised in the year and tho' I did personally press the debts to the Allies, yet I found it more for their service to let it rest till the next opportunity when they are sure of having a just consideration of it. I shall take your hint about Landberg's things.

P.S.—I presented her Danish Majesty's letter to the Queen, you know how to make your complimentary upon that.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, November  $\frac{22}{11}$  Copenhagen.—I have had the double satisfaction by your favour of the 27th October to hear with what appearance of unanimity and despatch the Session has opened, which will have an universal influence on all affairs abroad, and of your Honour's being returned in health to fill those two great posts with equal advantage to Her Majesty's service both at home and abroad. I wish Her Majesty long the use of such Ministers and the same success of their endeavour. I received to-day from Mr. Wych the account of the Court of Gottery having consented to the prohibition of sending horses out of Holstein. I have acquainted the King with it, who thereupon has ordered the Prohibition to be published in his part of the Duchy.

*Endorsed by Harley:* Nov.  $\frac{11}{22}$ . Received 20.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, November  $\frac{25}{14}$ . Copenhagen.—The last time I wrote to you about the exchange of the Ratifications I informed you of what the Secretary of State had said to me, but I must now acquaint you that the King has not followed his

advice, but desires the Exchange may be made here, it being the place the last Treaties were signed in. The matter is now before you and you may resolve in it what you think fit.

I have hitherto represented it as a thing altogether indifferent. The order is gone from hence to the Chancery at Gluckstadt for preventing the enemy from being furnished with any horse from those parts.

They are in pain here for a ship richly laden from hence to Narva, the Swedes threaten all that trade thither, and they are resolved here to make reprisals. They are in hope that England will make it a common cause, two of our ships here brought up in Sweden upon the same account and that for no better reason than what we have every day for bringing up the Swedes' ships trading to France.

The Queen has been lately out of order which has destroyed the expectations which began to appear in her.

The wind is fair to-day for our convoy so that I believe they are sailed. They have above six score ships under their charge all bound for England with naval stores.

There are five Dutch men of war in the Sound who will be sailing at the same time. The *Winchester* and the *Dover* will meet the convoy in the Cattigate. When the *Worcester* came into the Sound there was a mistake made in the salute by the Castle of Cronsburch, occasioned by the fogginess of the weather, but they have since made ample satisfaction by excusing it to me and to the captain and likewise by giving him the salute that was omitted.

*Endorsed by Harley*: Received Nov. 27.

RICHARD ANDREW to MR. TIGH.

1704, November 24. Charles Crowne.—I gave you an account in mine of the 22nd instant of my arrival here on the 18th which I hope is come safe to your hand. That same day after my writing I and my men were all examined before the Admiralty and my pilot whom you shipped did declare before the Cord [court] that all the tar in the ship was Prince Alexander's goods; and that Condi, the consul, and the commandant told them the same and proffered to render his oath upon it, but the court finding all my men of a contrary opinion did not put him to his oath at that time, but gave him a caution to be careful to what he swore; when the court breaking [up] my writings were after delivered to me (my passes, bills of lading, and seven letters excepted), which they told me must be sent to Stockholm, so that I do now expect to winter here by reason of the pilot's false information.

He remains continually ashore drunk and prancing like a man wholly bereaved of his senses; he hath also declared that I and my mate were going to have him overboard, and that he hath been almost starved for want of victuals; but this I can



easily prove to the contrary. My great misfortune at present is that I can find no men here that will give me advice, or any act in my behalf. Those gentlemen who speak English belong to the Navy and will not act in my behalf. I beg your advice in this case, and if you have any correspondent here, that you will recommend me to him.

I hope that by this time you may have some letters from the Company in answer to mine from Revel on the 25th of the last. All my bills and letters have been all opened and examined. I shall be in want of money by reason of my great loss of anchors and cables, but am in hope the Company will send me credit.

*Endorsed:* Mr. Vernon. Dec. 1<sup>3</sup>. Received December 11.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, Nov. 2<sup>9</sup>/<sub>18</sub>. Copenhagen.—I am honoured with your commands of the 7th instant. The mourning this court is in for the Duchess of Holstein is not very strict. None but the Queen mother has given black to their servants, which makes me judge it superfluous to give any to mine, and before I could have her Majesty's order for doing of it, it would be out of season.

I am glad your honour has it in your thoughts to procure some ease to the fair traders of this country: it will powerfully engage their affection, and I think it due to them preferably to the subject of any other neutral Prince, because they are tied up to conventions, which makes their trade altogether inoffensive; and it is for the reputation of our allies that the world should be convinced that they are advantageous to those who are engaged in them.

There is one thing at the present in which the merchants of this place have engaged me to beg the Queen's protection for them. They do now expect from France several of their ships laden with wine, and the season is so far advanced, that they are apprehensive that the keeping of them up any time in England would lose them the whole winter by the freezing of the haven, for which reason they request that in case they are brought up and any objection made to them they may be let go again upon giving bail. The owners of the ships whose names are here enclosed have already ordered their correspondents to offer any bail that shall be judged sufficient for the immediate discharge of those ships. I remember this was offered them in the case of Abesty's ship, but they then refused it; what makes them covet it now, is the great scarcity of wine here, which will make them a great market.

Capt. Butler sailed out of the Sound on the 2<sup>6</sup>/<sub>15</sub> instant with the ships under his convoy. The Dutch convoy did not sail till the day after. They could not agree to sail together because of the diversity of their signals. If the Captain had sent me any notice of the difficulty I should have done my best to have had it removed for the Dutch had five men of war

which would have been a good additional security to our Fleet, which consists of 120 ships mostly laden with naval stores.

It is expected here, that the King of Prussia will make proposals to the Duke of Marlborough for the pacification of Poland, finding himself in a condition to be no more afraid of the Swede. They would be very glad here to enter into any measure for forcing a peace upon their neighbours under her Majesty's mediation. The tax they are now raising will put them into a condition of making a considerable effort if they could gain the Allies to encourage it.

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*Enclosure :*

Le vaisseau *Contentement*, Maitre Henry Caspers.

Le vaisseau *Laignon Blaney*. Maitre Peter Berens.  
Tout deux de Bordeaux.

The above ships are expected from France, and the following :

The *Wheall*, Hans Weinholt.

The *Wine fatte*, Claus Jansson.

The *St. John*, Christian Kruste.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, <sup>December 6.</sup><sub>November 25.</sub> Copenhagen.—Monsieur Elbrecht, a gentleman of a good estate in Holstein, and who has served as Major General under this King and that of Poland, offers to raise five thousand men, whereof one thousand horse, one thousand dragoons, and the rest foot, for the service of the Queen or States, at the same rates that have been allowed for the men that have been bought of this King, for himself, he demands the command of these troops with the charter of Lieut-General ; he undertakes to complete this levy in six months, half the levy money being advanced, and offers security in Hamburgh for the performance of articles. I have sent his proposal to the Duke of Marlborough who has, I hear, received one of the same kind from Col. Birkholz who was in great credit with the late Duke of Holstein but is now in the service of Mecklenburg. They are now about registering the seamen in Denmark, in the same manner it was practised this summer in Norway where they have registered upwards of 8000 men, and expect to find the same number here, none but registered men will be licensed to fish with a great net. They are exempted from quartering of soldiers and some other small duties. This and the Militia are reckoned very useful establishments for the security of the country, and are both owing to this reign. The King has made an abatement of the 4th part of the poll tax which will still be a heavy one. The product of it is computed at a million of Imperial crowns which is reckoned to be a third of the current cash of the two kingdoms.

These proceedings give umbrage to the Swede, and will be a service to the public if it inclines them to peace. Monsieuc

Schulz, the *Stiff Amptsman* or Governor of Fuhnen, is lately dead. The Secretary of State, Seested, puts in for that employment, which he is inclinable to prefer to his seals: in which case it is thought they would be given either Mr. Van Stuchen their envoy in Holland or to Meyernerone, who has been so long their envoy in France that he is grown a perfect Frenchman. The Paris Gazette has made a trophy of the wager that has been decided here for Poussin which I am glad of. I shall make good use of it to expose the indiscretion of the deciders and I don't know but the King who has already expressed himself dissatisfied about it may make some further demonstration of his displeasure.

The Dutch East India ship arrested in Norway is released by an agreement between the company and the Danish merchants.

*Docketed by Harley*: Received December 5.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, December  $1\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>, Copenhagen.—We received yesterday three mails together from England, and with them your letter of the 17th November, containing such expressions of favour to me as I shall never forget, nor ever think of but with the greatest satisfaction to myself and acknowledgment to you.

I am particularly obliged to your honour for staying your answer to Monsieur Rosencranz till you heard from me, which will teach them manners if anything will. The Chancellor has expostulated with the Secretary about the oddness of his proceedings in giving me no notice of what he wrote to M. Rosencranz leaving me by that means, to write the contrary. The Secretary has excused it to me upon thoughtlessness of which I think him very capable, he alleged the same excuse for not despatching the Instrument of Ratification upon his first return from Norway as Mons. Rosencranz had promised your honour in his name.

What other reasons they have must consist in a point of honour they may imagine they gain by making the exchange here or else in that of good husbandry by leaving to us the charge of an express. But since this delay comes from them, and that contrary to promise, it will entirely depend upon you to give him what answer you judge fit.

I have a letter from Sir Charles Hedge of the 2nd November requiring a particular account of what has passed in the decision of the wager. I have sent him the enclosed account, which contains all that I can recollect upon the subject which is wholly conformable to the information I have already sent your honour.

I have pressed home upon 1045 the reasons, which should have deterred Count Ahlefeld and Cormaillon from giving so shocking a judgment, the ill interpretations it is liable to, and the consequences it may draw after it. He was very sensible of it and promised me to represent it to the King who had



already expressed his disapprobation. I told him that ought to be made as public as the fault, which I knew no better way of doing than by obliging these partial judges to repay out of their own pockets what they have wronged the poor Hugonots of. He promised to propose it, and if you would have anything more done you will be pleased to direct me.

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JAMES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1704, December  $\frac{27}{16}$ . Copenhagen.—I desired Mr. Lewis last post to acquaint your honour that having nothing material I forebore troubling you. There is not much more at present; what busies them most is the registry of their seamen for the better carrying on of that service, the King has made a promotion of officers in his Fleet, viz., four vice-admirals who are Captains Seesteed, Barfoot, Ritz and du Perron; and these are to be employed in the registering of seamen in the several provinces of the Kingdom. The Swedes to show they are not negligent of their marine talk of introducing the same practice into their country which returns the jealousy with usury. The King himself took an occasion to speak me of the great preparations he heard the Swede was making in their harbours. The jealousy taken at the Swede continuing so long upon the frontier of Germany are studiously improved here, and they have a story of one Bank a Swede's secretary sent from the camp into France and lately returned thither with despatches of great moment; but they do not pretend to know the contents of them. There has been so many representations against the New Tax, that the King has consented to considerable abatements and to exempt entirely from this tax all money at interest belonging to orphans or strangers, the first out of compassions and the other out of policy that strangers may not withdraw the money they have here at interest. Longer terms are likewise allowed for the paying in of the money, and I find people believe it will not be levied at all because of the clamour it raises among the people to be so taxed in a time of peace where there is not an occasion so much as pretended for more than the interest at 4 per cent of the money intended to be raised. The principal being to be managed and put into commerce for the King's profit by the Council of Trade. This project is become the more unpopular because the authors of it are strangers and of a country whose interest consists in keeping this kingdom very poor. This being the disposition of the great part of those who are at present in places of trust the world must not wonder to see this Court act very often inconsistently with their true interest and to find that a good bribe will go farther than a good reason. I am certainly informed by the bankers of this place, that Poussin has received since he has been here upwards of 30,000 dollars of which he cannot have spent himself above the fourth

part ; the rest here \* are people enow here willing to discharge him of, who expect no such thing from any of the allies, because they remember that when upon the conclusion of the Treaty of 1701 the Ministry had obtained their Master's leave to receive a gratification from England and Holland, they were disappointed of one half of the sum they had been made to expect.

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The horses which his Royal Highness has sent the King are safely here, and tho' they have had very bad weather both for their voyage and journey overland are all in a good condition. Monsieur Pless who is still at Hamburgh for business of the Prince, as he informs me, has desired I would present them to the King.

As much as I can judge, the present is very well bestowed the King appearing to have a great sensibility to any marks of kindness from England.

I cannot conclude this letter with any compliment more sincere than wishing your honour all health and happiness and enjoyment of yourself in the Festival which crowns this glorious year.

*Endorsed:* Mr. Vernon. Dec. 27, 1704. Received Dec. 29. N.B.—Names of traders with France.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, January 10. Copenhagen.—The King returned yesterday from Friedericsburg where he had been for four days to divert himself, in company with Monsieur de Guldenlew, Count Ahlefeld, Monsieur Eichsted and the Marshal of the Court. General Bannier is arrived here from Stockholm in his way to Holstein where he has the chief of command of the troops. He is endeavouring to reconcile the differences which are daily rising between this Court and that of Holstein. He has been very civilly received by the King and by the Ministers who have all treated him one after another, but I don't know yet how far he has succeeded in his negotiation ; while Sweden has other business upon their hands, the Court will be very imposing upon that of Gottorp, and have already carried it so far that because the Duke prints his name in characters of the same size in which the King's name is printed, they have broken off all correspondence with him and consequently have put a stop to the course of justice, which is administered in the names of both Princes.

The present Ministry, the Holsteiners, encourage the difference partly to show the King a zeal for his service and chiefly to preserve their privileges which they think are in greatest safety when there is least correspondence between the two Courts.

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\* (*Sic*) apparently for there.

## JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, January 23.—Copenhagen.—The last week afforded only matters of common occurrence which not deserving your honour's immediate consideration I transmitted to your Secretary: among other things I acquainted him that the Emperor's Resident had delivered a letter of compliment from the Emperor to this King upon the good service of his troops in the battle of Hoehstet. The States wrote their compliments to the King very soon after the action. Having these letters from two of the three principals in the Confederacy makes them desirous of the same honour from her Majesty from whom they have only received a compliment by word of mouth. The Secretary of State has intimated so much to me and I have not made the matter difficult, believing her Majesty would not be unwilling to gratify them in this desire. I take one of the reasons of their being desirous of these testimonials is that reports have been spread in Germany to the disadvantage of their troops, tho' I do not find these reports stick upon anyone except it be Lieut-General Sholten, whose behaviour in the action is so much blamed that it is doubted whether he will continue in the service of the Court.

Major-General Ranzau is expected here every minute. He has already acquainted the King that he cannot serve him with honour any longer as Major General, all the Princes who have troops in the Confederate Army having made so many promotions, that those whom he has seen Captains are now in posts to command him. He meets with great opposition. The Duke of Wurtemberg's friends having no mind he should return to the Army have set two proposals on foot; the first is for sending him into Muscovy to reside there as the King's minister and to assist the Czar in his war in the post of Lieut. General in the same manner [as] Lieut. General Tramp served with the King of Poland; the other is that he shall command the militia in Denmark in the post of Lieut. General. The last proposal is the most agreeable to his circumstances, but I don't know whether it will be so to the Duke of Marlborough to miss his service in the Army.

The Emperor's Resident expects a courier to-day from Vienna; he says he does not certainly know, but guesses the subject to be the notifying here the great victory in Hungary, and that of the siege of Verona being raised, and to desire this King's consent for the sending of his Danes again into Italy, which will be no pleasing message here, their last expedition into that country having reduced the Danish Corps to a fourth part of their numbers. But they have recovered themselves in their good quarters in the upper Palatinate, Major General Gerstorf who is lately come from them has given the King an account that they are now 4500 effective men and that he does not doubt but that before spring they will be 6500 which is their complement according to the Emperor's new regulation.



I am in some danger of being called to a Conference with these Ministers upon the bringing up of some ships into England in which some of the great ones are concerned. They make great complaints that they see nothing come of the hopes that have been given them, but that as many of their ships as are met with by the Privateers are without distinction or examination brought up and put to intolerable expenses before they can get free.

The College of Commerce have made a computation of the charges their ships have been put to, in cases where there has been no cause of seizure assigned and make it mount to a considerable sum which you will be sure to hear of some time or other. I shall have nothing to stop their mouths unless your honour assists me.

There is none of the diversions at Court that are usual at this time. Last year was all Carnival and this all Lent. His Majesty is in a way of devotion, and the Queen who has recovered her credit with him uses all her endeavours to keep him out of the way of temptation of giving her another rival.

*Docketed.* Received Jan. 26.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, January  $\frac{31}{20}$ . Copenhagen.—The Emperor's Resident has been obliged to despatch his courier without any resolution upon his message; the King having sent it directly to his Minister at Vienna, refusing to transact anything with the Resident, till he take his audience. But it has been given him to understand that the King's Minister at Vienna is empowered to consent to the march of those troops into Italy, upon very easy conditions and barely such as are necessary for the preservation of that Corps.

I have been told the same thing by the Minister[s], who do not lose this occasion of magnifying their zeal for the allies and of complaining of the small returns made them for it. They have given, they say, the Emperor a great body of troops without any subsidy and yet those troops receive no pay, and tho' they have been nearly totally destroyed in the Emperor's service, he refuses to give them their full recruit by 1500 men. They think this deserves more than a small piece of ceremony which yet the Emperor refuses to gratify them in; as he likewise refuses to admit them to a trial in justice of their pretensions to the coadjutory of Lubeck. As to this last article the Emperor's Resident has told them that Count Galash is ordered to know the Queen's opinion of that matter and if she declares it to be not decided by the Treaty of Travendahl, that then the Emperor will suffer the trial to proceed in the Imperial Chamber. At the Dutch they show themselves very much piqued because their Minister at Berlin has taken his audience before their Minister has done it here which they look upon as giving a preference to the King of Prussia. They take it ill that

the City of Danzig should be secured without their concurrence and complain of it as a slight put upon them to gratify the Swede. They are impatient for the 100,000 crowns which are to be paid them upon the renewal of the Treaties and that they see no end of the bringing up of their ships. These are all their grievances summed up together as both the Chancellor and Privy Councillor Bluhm have lately discoursed them over to me; and as I believe by express directions from the King. The answer I made to that part of them which concerned the Queen was that, as I understood the matter the step which had been put to the Conferences about Danzig proceeded from the private Treaty the King of Prussia had made with that city, which he refused to communicate, and it was, therefore, wholly to be imputed to that refusal. For the other two points I gave the hope of a speedy despatch. These are the best answers I can think on till I am otherwise instructed by your honour.

They likewise told me that Monsieur Roseneranz was ordered to give Her Majesty information of the enterprises of the Court of Gottorf. I have already acquainted your honour in what that consists, that the Duke claims a right of printing his name in as large characters as the King's, of which there are precedents since the Treaty of Travendahl, by the negligence, as they allege here of their chancery in Holstein, which cannot prejudice an established right. The consequence of this dispute is, that all those Acts of Government which are to proceed in both their names cannot be executed, and the Court of Gottorf would oblige the nobility to obey their single mandate, which they refuse to do. The Treaty of Travendahl has prescribed the method to end these disputes, but there is one of a greater importance not yet provided against, which is that of the coadjutory. The Bishop has been indisposed. If he should die before a sequestration be resolved, both parties will endeavour to take possession. I hope your honour will hear directly from Vienna that the Danish troops have had their orders for marching without much difficulty and that the effect of that may be to procure the doing of all that is reasonable to keep them in humour.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, February 7. N.S. Copenhagen.—Major General Ranzau has succeeded in his pretensions. The King has made him Lieut. General of his troops in Her Majesty's service, which he owes in great measure to the commendations the Duke of Marlborough has given him, which the King has had an account of from Monsicur Roseneranz, and which I have seconded upon all occasions. Monsicur Ranzau being a gentleman of this country, his promotion is very agreable to the whole nobility who have not seen any of their body in such a post since the Revolution of 1660.

The Secretary of State has sent me a copy of an instrument which he has sent to Mr. Rosencranz as a corroboration of their pretensions upon the Coadjutory, which contains the protestation of the Imperial Ministers at the Treaty of Altena against that article which confirms the Recess of Gluckstadt as being contrary to that freedom of election which belongs to the chapter by the constitutions of the Empire and was reserved to them by the Treaty of Westphalia.

Affairs in Holstein are now in such a situation that one may expect every day to hear of blows. There are already in two very considerable causes judgments given directly opposite, by the two Chancerys; if they will execute them it must be by force.

It is very well that in such a conjuncture the Council of Denmark is governed by Holsteners whose interest it is to keep things from a rupture. Both sides are strengthening themselves with alliances and this Court is endeavouring to engage the King of Prussia to espouse their cause as openly as the House of Lunenburg does that of Gottorf.

*Docketed.* Received February 5.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, February  $\frac{24}{13}$ . Copenhagen.—The Court of Gottorf is sending one to reside here and have receded from several of their pretensions and have submitted the others to be determined by a joint Commission, which in all appearance will put an end to their dispute.

Poussin solicits with great earnestness the recall of Monsieur Meyerncrone the Danish Minister in France, alleging that he grows too old for business. I hear the true reason is that he is suspected of furnishing the enemies of France with intelligence. This Court does not think it reasonable to receive directions of this kind from France, and whenever they do recall M. Meyerncrone they will leave only a secretary in his room.

They complain here of being less favoured in France than the Swedes in whose favour the late edict declaring ships bought since the war to be prize has been recalled, whereas another edict (which declares that those who being subjects to an enemy have naturalized themselves in a neutral country since the declaration of the war shall be treated as enemies) remains in force; it being solely to the prejudice of Denmark.

For the encouragement of their intended manufactories an edict is published here inviting all sorts of handicraftsmen to settle in the country with offer of the same privilege, which were granted to the French Refugees in 1685, viz. an exemption from all duties (the excise and the customs excepted) for 20 years together with a license of departing at the end of 10 years with their acquisitions without being obliged to pay the 6th and 10th. A Swedish man of war being stranded upon the coast of Jutland, the King upon the first notice of it sent an



express to the magistrates of that neighbourhood to order them to give the Swedes all manner of assistance and good treatment.

They are apprehensive here of a separate peace in Poland, which will put them upon greater strains of civility for Sweden, if it take effect. Lieut. General Ranzau is at his country house ; he has taken his leave of the Court. The night before his departure the King bestowed upon him the white ribbon, with a very obliging compliment extolling his good services which deserved that acknowledgment. Queen Mother desires me to recommend in her name Prince Lewis of Hesse who is now in England to her Majesty's protection and countenance.

*Docketed by Harley :* Mr. Vernon. Feb.  $\frac{2}{13}$ , 1704-5.  
Received March 1.

#### JAMES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, March 3. N.S. Copenhagen.—The Emperor's Minister received on Saturday last a courier from Vienna with instructions to answer upon several demands made by the Danish Minister as conditions without which his Danish Majesty would not consent to the sending his troops into Italy.

Those demands consist in five points :

1st. That the Emperor would pay the arrears of the Million debt.

2ndly. To pay the arrears due to the Danish troops.

3rdly. That he would grant the investiture of the toll upon the Weser.

4thly. That he would determine the dispute of the Coadjutory.

5thly. That he would comply with their ceremonial.

The Emperor takes notice that these three last points are no part of his Treaty for the Danish troops and therefore not to be insisted upon in this case.

The two first he owns to be no other than what the Treaty requires but excuses the non-performance upon the late incumbrances of his affairs. And for the payment of the arrears of the million debt he desires, for the same reason, a longer delay ; promising for what relates to the troops that he will put them into such a condition as they shall have no reason to complain, he gives them good hopes in the business of the toll upon the Weser ; but very spare ones in the business of the Coadjutory ; and for the ceremonial he offers as an expedient the sending of an ambassador.

This is the sum of what the Emperor writes to his Minister which is not very satisfactory here no more than the account that their envoy at Vienna has sent them of the Conference he has had with the Imperial Ministers, which has been managed with warmth of both sides especially of Baron Zeylen, who spoke very reflectingly upon the Danish conduct in the business of the Coadjutory. What made the Emperor's Ministers so

warm was their disappointment in the expectation that had been given them that Monsieur Wyberg had power to conclude.

I have given the Emperor's Resident what assistance lay in my power to bring this dispute to a conclusion, and this we have effected :—that the King sends away to-night his orders for the Danish General to march where the Emperor commands. But it must not be delivered till the Emperor consents to the better performance of some articles of the Treaty which chiefly relate to the preservation of those troops who have miserably suffered.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1704–5, <sup>February 23.</sup><sub>March 6.</sub> Whitehall.—I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you in some posts and should not give you the trouble of a letter till the Parliament be up which will be in a very few days, but that I hear there is some stop made in the Treaty between the Emperor and King of Denmark concerning the march of the 8000 Danes into Italy. I hope those difficulties are over by this time for I understand by this day's post, the Emperor was inclined to comply as far as he is able and I desire if you have a fair opportunity (and it be not agreed before this comes to your hand) that you will use your best endeavours to dispose his Danish Majesty and his Ministers to a compliance with the Emperor which is of such great consequence to the common cause, tho' it may be that is not so good an argument to use where you are as that it will be very kindly taken by the Queen. As soon as the Parliament is up I shall apply myself to getting your Treaty despatched and the money paid.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, March 7. Copenhagen.—I acquainted your Honour by the last ordinary that the orders for the Danish Corps to march into Italy was sent that night to Vienna, but was not to be delivered till satisfaction were given for the arrears owing both to the King and to his troops, which for the King is 300,000 crowns and nearly as much for the troops. What latitude is left to their Minister for abatement in consideration of the present inability of the Imperial Court is kept a secret for fear its being known should spoil the market. The great difficulty in this matter ariseth from the officers who command that corps, who dread returning into a country where they have already suffered so much, and they have met with that encouragement in their reluctancy from the French party in this Court, that it is known here that Poussin has assured the Court of France that those troops would not serve this year in Italy. Your honour may remember that the same endeavours were used in the beginning of the last year to make the Danish Corps in Brabant useless to the Allies, by sending orders to

their General not to quit his quarters till the troops had received their whole arrears, and during the campaign not to suffer the Corps to be separated; which orders if the General had punctually complied with had produced strange inconveniences. I am obliged in duty to repeat here what I find by every day's experience to be true, that nothing does more contribute to breed this ill blood in this Court than the continual clamours of their subjects who suffer by our Privateers.

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The King intends to visit his county of Oldenburg this summer and will begin his progress earlier than ordinary. If you judge it for Her Majesty's service that I should follow the King in this progress you will be pleased to signify her pleasure, I suppose it will be sufficient to attend into Holstein and I hope it will be allowed me to charge in my bills such expense such a journey will put me upon above Her Majesty's constant allowance.

Monsieur Pless arrived on Thursday last from Hamburg: he waited yesterday upon the King who received him very favourably.

#### JAMES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, March 21, N.S. Copenhagen.— I have received your commands of the 6th instant. You will be already informed by my letter of the 4th and 7th instant, what resolution has been taken here upon the Emperor's demand of the Danish Corps to go into Italy. I must do that justice to this King, as to say, that I could not perceive that the difficulty arose from any indisposition towards the public service, but partly from the great deficiency of the Imperial Court in performing what they have promised in their Treaty relating to those troops, and in part from the importunity of the officers who command in that Corps, who are utterly averse to that service of which they have had a terrible experience. But notwithstanding all this, the King's order for them to march is sent to the Danish Minister at Vienna, and is by this time delivered by him to that Court if on their side they will furnish them with what is absolutely necessary for such a march, and engage to the King for a better payment of his subsidy of which they are seven quarters in arrear.

Your Honour is pleased to call that corps 8000 men, for so many they ought to be, but when they came out of Italy they were reduced to 1500 men, and now they are recruited but to 6000 and the Emperor will not make them stronger, which the Dane must submit to.

The matter having been brought to this issue, I judge it will be now to no purpose to use Her Majesty's name in it, I having



already given the Imperial Minister what assistance I could, both with the King and his Ministers.

The Administrator of Holstein has sent one of his secretaries to reside here. I don't find he brings any overtures for adjusting the dispute between the two Courts, but only arguments to justify their whole proceeding. The Court of Gottorf complains that these differences are owing to the artifice and misinformation of the Holstein gentlemen in the Danish service who during the interruption of justice procure great advantages to themselves and friends, which they could never obtain by the due administration of the laws, and for that reason the Administrator judges it necessary to have one here, who by giving the King true information may bring things to that accommodation which they are so adverse to, but those gentlemen being masters of the King's ear, it is not very likely he should succeed in his commission. The King continues in the resolution of beginning his progress immediately after Easter, the reasons given for his going earlier this year than ordinary are, his going to Oldenburg where he has not yet been, and his having an indisposition upon him, which he would shake off by travelling. The King has been melancholy ever since the death of the Countess Virek, and his having lately lost the only child he had by her has renewed his grief. The town is upon this occasion full of a story, which for the oddness of it is worth relating, as it is told by eye witnesses of considerable quality. The Countess of Virek a few days before the King's going to Norway was sitting with several other ladies by a table upon which there stood two large wax lights. One of them nearest the Countess went suddenly out of itself and was no sooner relighted but the other went out, which very much surprised the company and particularly the Countess. The King came in shortly after, and while they were telling him what had happened, both candles went out together. The King had not been long in Norway when he received an account of the Countess's death, upon which he immediately said to those that were about him "There is one candle gone out, who knows who may be the other," upon which he immediately sent for his Confessor and communicated the next day. Since the death of the child, the King has interpreted that to have been the other candle.

If the King begins his progress before I receive your directions what am I to do, I shall resolve on staying here for I cannot foresee that my following the King can be of any use to Her Majesty's service and I know it is not very agreeable to him to have the foreign ministers after him, he taking none of his own but the Secretary of War and the Secretary for Holstein's affairs, all the rest of the ministers staying behind or going to their country houses and the King himself making no stay in any one place and intending to be shortly back.

*Docketed* : Received March 5.

## JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, March  $\frac{2}{3}$ . Copenhagen.—The King declared yesterday his intention of beginning his progress on 2 April N.S. six weeks earlier than usual. The reason given for it is that he would be back to enjoy the whole summer at his country seats in this Island. He goes from hence direct to Gluckstadt where he designs to keep his Easter: he takes the review of his troops on his return by the beginning of May. I have made my compliments to him upon this occasion telling him that having no directions from the Queen, I would follow his Majesty and wait upon him in a progress if he thought it of any use to his Majesty's or the public service. The King told me, he stayed out but a month, and did not believe that anything would happen in that time which would require my ministry and therefore left it to my choice, and that shall be to stay here till I know her Majesty's pleasure. The considerable people named to go with the King are Count Guldenleu, Count Ahlefeld, Privy Councillor Lenth, Mr. Secretary Seested. The rest of the Privy Council have leave to go to their estates and Mr. Secretary Wibe to take the waters at Aix la Chapelle.

It is whispered that Monsieur Wyberg the Danish Minister at Vienna has orders sent him to meet the King at Gluckstadt and that those orders have been despatched without the privy of the Council which inclines me to believe that the King may have some proposal to make to the Emperor, which he would have a secret between himself and Wyberg, who is very much in his confidence. Your honour has without doubt heard that the King offered himself last winter to command against the Elector of Bavaria, and it is not impossible that for want of another command he would accept of that of Italy, which is at the Emperor's sole disposal, and it is probable Prince Eugen would be willing to serve under the King, and that the King would be very glad to be governed by the directions of so accomplished a general if anything like this should happen the public might draw this advantage from it to fix Denmark in the Grand Alliance, and to put an end to their quarrelsome trade with France, which would necessarily draw after it the Dutch consent to prohibit their trade with France also.

The King of Poland has written hither that the Swedes are forming a camp upon the borders of Silesia which makes him apprehend they design an invasion into Saxony. Monsieur Aaligilt is upon this ordered back to his post at Berlin to communicate with that Court and orders are sent upon the same subject to MM. Rosencranz and Van Stude.

The Holstein Minister is promised there shall be a meeting this summer at Steembon to adjust their differences.

## ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1704-5, March  $\frac{2}{3}$ .—I have made use of the intimation you gave me of what was expected of a letter from the Queen to

the King of Denmark upon the behaviour of his troops. You know very well there was a very early compliment made by her Majesty's order upon that occasion and also that you delivered a letter written all with the Queen's own hand to his Danish Majesty, but since the passion of glory is so great in Denmark and upon so laudable an account I hope her Majesty will take an opportunity to gratify his Danish Majesty upon this occasion and as a good omen for the like success for the future. I desire you will let me hear what the state of their fleet is ; what readiness it is in, and what they can do upon that head upon any occasion this being only a point of curiosity. You will forgive the trouble given you.

*Unsigned. Draft in Harley's hand.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, March  $\frac{28}{17}$ . Copenhagen.—The King's journey continues fixed for the 2nd of the next month, though the weather be not very favourable ; he intends to review his troops in Holstein and in Jutland and to be back the 5th of May to review the Militia in this Island.

The longest stay that he is to make at any place in the progress will be at Gluekstadt, where he passes the Easter week. Privy Counsellor Ahlefeld and Bluhem who have their estates in Holstein follow the King thither. The great Chancellor goes to his estate in Jutland, where the King is to be entertained by him. Privy Counsellor Crabb stays here. None of the foreign ministers follow the King, it being intimated to them that it was not necessary, the King's stay abroad being but short and his retinue small. Everybody here is surprised at the precipitancy of this journey in a wet and cold season ; and the King's health not very strong ; he has looked thin and dispirited this whole winter and it is said that he has a rupture and is subject to fainting fits, two ill companions in a journey.

Endeavours have been used to dissuade him from taking this so early, but he says he intends to enjoy two springs this year, one in Holstein, another at his return here, and I don't find any other motive for the journey guessed at, but the gratifying of this humour.

The King of Poland has acquainted the King with his apprehensions of the Swedes invading Saxony this summer and the Prussian Secretary has had orders to desire the immediate return of the Danish envoy to Berlin upon the same apprehension. Such an accident would find them here very much unprepared either to send the troops they have promised in their defensive alliance or to put a squadron out to sea. This has been one reason why this Court has been so unwilling to send their troops into Italy. They would be glad to perform their alliances with Saxony at the Emperor's charges. It is probable the same reason has delayed the march of the Prussian troops.



The difficulty which has hitherto retarded the audience of the Dutch <sup>the</sup>envoy being now removed by the release of the Dutch East India ship and her safe return into Holland, the envoy is to take his audience some day before the King's departure. The States have desired leave of the King to raise seamen in Norway. By next post I shall know the answer.

Upon suspicion that the King's customs are defrauded in Norway the chief customer is imprisoned and his books seized. The books of all the merchants of that country are likewise to be seized and examined and the better to discover frauds an oath will be tendered them. Here they are very hot upon establishing a Bank but such proceedings will not raise the credit of it.

*Docketed.* Received March 28.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>April 4.</sup><sub>March 24.</sub> Copenhagen.—The King left this place on the 2nd instant. Inclosed is the journal of his progress. None of the foreign Ministers have followed him. We have six mails due from England so that for want of directions I stay here with them. Monsieur Rosencranz is ordered to represent to her Majesty what grounds they have for apprehending that the Swede intends to invade Saxony this spring and to invite her Majesty to enter into measures with them for preventing the ill consequences that may follow upon it. Their minister at Paris assures them that a remittance of 200,000 crowns has been lately made to Sweden upon a verbal assurance that they will invade Saxony, and from Stockholm they hear that the Senate has advised that invasion, as the speediest means of ending the war in Poland.

Their project here in this case, is to desire the Emperor's consent that the Danes in his pay may be commanded into Saxony; in this island they would form a camp of 10,000 men and put their Fleet to sea, where, with a small assistance from the Queen, they propose to be masters, and to put the whole coast of Sweden in fear of a landing.

The registering of seamen goes on and is extended to the Duchy of Sleswick. It takes in all the seamen of the country and nobody is allowed to sail till he be registered. It is computed that the whole number will not exceed 12,000 men, and half of them will be always absent in trading voyages, so that the King cannot reckon upon more than 6,000 of his own subjects for equipping his Fleet, the residue he is obliged to levy in the free towns of Germany.

The King has excused the merchants of Norway from producing their books upon their remonstrating to him the ill effects it would have upon the trade of the country. But they have promised to make a full discovery of the frauds committed by the Custom House officers.

The King has made an edict for the relief of ship wrecks. The people are ordered to be assistant for moderate rates and all

embezzlement of shipwrecked goods are forbidden under severe penalties.

*Docketed.* Received April 5.

*Enclosure :* The Itinerary of the King's Progress.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, April  $\frac{1}{3}^4$ . Copenhagen.—I received your commands of the  $\frac{27}{16}$  March by the last post and could then have briefly satisfied you of the condition of this Fleet, which is in no condition at all to be made use of suddenly. I have since made enquiry into the several particulars relating to an equipment and find that they have not in their stores the provision nor ammunition necessary for a small squadron, and that 12 ships would be the utmost they could put to sea this summer. They reckon their whole Fleet to consist of 32 ships of the line, but one may strike off 8 of this number that are too decrepit to keep the sea in hard weather.

The complement for the manning of this Fleet is computed at 14,000 men, of which they can raise 7,000 in the King's dominions, the rest must be raised in Holland and the free towns of Germany and Prussia, which when Holland wants seamen proves pretty difficult, 7000 ceatners is the proportion of powder for such a Fleet, the great part to be bought in Holland, their own East India Company affording them but a small proportion. The last time they bought any powder in Holland was a year and a half ago, and then they bought but one thousand ceatners, so that they are very bare of this commodity ; as well as of bullets and cutlasses for a fresh provision of which they are now sending a ship to Norway. The Fleet has been so little thought of for these three last years that most of the young men who were brought up to that service in the King's Academy have been glad to enlist themselves in the Army, and this very spring the King has given license to some of his captains to make the campaign upon the English and Dutch Fleets.

The King's thoughts have been altogether employed about settling a good militia for the defence of the country against any invasion, regulating his Revenue and discharging his debts, it being his maxim that he is not to look abroad till he has settled everything at home, and that of his present ministry to avoid above all things a rupture with Sweden as that which would expose Holstein where they have large estates to the desolation of war ; and even in the case of Saxony being invaded by the Swede all the assistance they intend to give their ally will be some few auxiliary troops to defend his country and those taken from the Emperor : for the not observing exactly the Treaty is as good an argument against serving upon the Rhine, as against serving in Italy, and it is very much to be feared that if those troops were not enough they would endeavour to supply them out of that Corps which is in her Majesty's Army, under pretence of their being necessary for the immediate

defence of the Empire; and I don't say this by guess, but have had broad hints of it in discourse both from the King and his ministers. But to make any other diversion to favour their ally, they will never undertake it unless hired to it by such contributions and assistance, as they will hardly deserve.

Enclosed is a letter I received yesterday from the Secretary of State who is with the King in Holstein. Your honour will see in original the temper that our Privateers and the Dutch trade to France puts them in. But now that trade is open I reckon there is an end of their clamour and trade together. The Hollanders will undersell them even in their own country and there is no more occasion for a covered trade.

The College of Commerce whose chief business has been to raise the clamour against us, have nothing now to do but to compute what Doctors Commons stands them in. They have drawn up already a reckoning of 200,000 crowns. Your Honour is the best judge what can be done towards pacifying them. I have said so much upon the matter that I have nothing new to propose.

*Docketed.* Received April 17.

*Enclosure:* The letter of protest referred to in the above, dated 1705, April 10. Gluckstadt. (*Signed*) E. Sehestedt.

*French.*

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, May 5 N.S. Copenhagen.—The King who was not expected here till this day surprised the Court with his unexpected return on Tuesday last late in the night, it being just a month from his setting out in which time he has made the circuit of Denmark and Holstein and everywhere reviewed the Militia and regular forces.

We do not hear of anything else that he has done during this progress except the nominating Count Frederick Ahlefeld, who is Stadtholder of Holstein, to be Lieut. General of the Forces upon the Moselle in the room of Lieut. General Schollen, who quits this service for the employ of Chief Engineer under the States: and an expectation has been raised that both the Secretaries of State are to be dismissed from their employments, and that the chief difficulty lies in finding men capable of succeeding them, there being a great scarcity of such in the country.

The King goes next week to Fredericksbourg to follow his country sports, and it looks as if he did not intend that business should interrupt them by his having given leave to MM. Bluhme and Ahlefeld, who are the two ministers he confides in, to remain upon their estates in Holstein for two months and the Chancellor to continue in Jutland to the end of this month.

Nothing is now said of the dangers of Saxony at which they were so uneasy some time ago and yet I hear from thence that this King has assured the King of Poland of the assistance of



the Danes quartered in Bavaria in case of an invasion, which is odd considering those troops do not belong to them but to the Emperor. The Imperial Resident here is ordered not to make any further mention of that corps going to Italy; that matter now entirely depending upon the Emperor's putting them into a condition to march and paying into the King's coffers 100,000 crowns; which they have promised to do before Midsummer. Monsieur Virck the Prussian envoy is returned hither and has brought with him a letter of compliment from his master to the King.

The Swede's envoy has likewise had a letter to deliver to the King, which he has been admitted to do, and to entertain the King upon business, notwithstanding that but five weeks ago, it was notified to all the foreign Ministers who had not conformed to the ceremonial that the King would not receive anything from them. Monsicur Poussin has not been so successful in his endeavours to notify the death of the Duke of Brittany, for the King being informed of his intention, took care of giving him no opportunity, so that he must be satisfied to notify it to one of the ministers. The same Ostend privateer, who brought an English prize two years ago into Norway, which I got released, is returned to his old post and has already snapped two Newcastle men coming hither and finding that Norway is no market for him he has ransomed them at sea. Two small frigates cruising between the Nesse of Norway and the Schage of Jutland would clear that sea of such picaroons and it ought to be the care of this government to protect upon their own coast a trade which they raise such a toll upon in the Sound. But it is an ill time to propose it to them while they imagine that their ships which are brought up into England come worse off than if they were ransomed at sea.

*Endorsed by Harley.* Received May 4.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, May 9. Copenhagen.—The best news I can send today is that this Court has acquiesced in what the Emperor proposed for their satisfaction, and have sent orders to their troops to march into Italy or wherever the Emperor commands them. Their inducements to this has been the good condition those troops are brought to, and the promise the Emperor has made them of a more regular payment of their subsidies; and more than anything the indifference the Imperial Court has shown to those troops and the apprehension of their being ill-used for the future upon account of a refusal and Monsieur Lenth lays some claim to the merit of this resolution, he being the only Minister at present with the King.

I understand they are pleased here with the hopes that Monsieur Rosencranz has lately given them, that the Queen will protect their trade against the grievances they complain of. By what I can find it would fully satisfy them, if when

they are acquitted in the Court of Admiralty the privateers were condemned to the whole charges of the suit, or at least to bear their own charges. They look upon the constant practice of that Court to condemn them to bear the privateers charges even when they are acquitted to be little less than an injunction to the privateers to bring them up right or wrong. For if there were one instance where a privateer had been condemned to the costs of a vexatious suit, it would make others more cautious in bringing up neutral ships, without knowing for what reason and as for the just cause of seizure, which is alleged in the sentence, they say it is only a clause of form since it is never explained to them, in order to prevent their committing the same mistakes again. If it were not too much for me I would humbly represent that, now Danish trade to France will be vastly lessened by that of the Hollanders, showing some favour to their fair trade can have no ill consequence, and I am very sure that the preserving of the credit and interest of the nation in these parts do very much depend upon it.

The SAME to the SAME.

1705, May 9. Copenhagen.—The King who returned the 2nd instant is leaving this place to pass the summer at his hunting seats.

The difference with the Imperial Court being adjusted, orders are gone from hence for the Danish corps to march into Italy.

A ship of 50 guns was launched here this morning and two 60 gun ships are ordered to be built this year.

*Docketed.* Received May 11.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, May 1<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—I believe Monsieur Rosencranz will have already acquainted your honour with the difficulties that hinder their receiving the 50,000 crowns which has been lately remitted for them upon account of the old arrear, viz., that they cannot give an acquittance in full till they receive the whole sum in question, which is a hundred thousand crowns, and the merchants refuse to pay it upon an acquittance in part. Mr. Secretary Seested has desired me to mention it to your honour, and to acquaint you how much the King desires to see the renewal of his Treaties with Her Majesty brought to perfection, the form of the instrument having been settled a good while since, and nothing being now wanted, but to proceed to the exchange of the ratifications.

The whole Court is gone this day to Yegersburg a hunting seat 4 English miles from this place. I have had a lodging assigned me there by the Marshal of the Court. I mention it because I believe it is the first time that compliment has been made to any foreign Minister and it is offered now to none of the others. The excuse for that distinction is that the business of that place is hunting which they are not provided for. I have been very willing to accept of the civility which

will give me opportunities of being near the King and which will have the appearance of the Court's affecting a greater confidence with England than hitherto they have done.

*Docketed.* Received 11th.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, May  $\frac{26}{15}$ . Yegersburg.—On Friday last the Imperial Resident delivered to the Secretary of State the letter of notification of the death of the late Emperor and the accession of the new one. This was the first notice that this Court had of this important change, their Minister at Vienna not judging it worth the expense of a courier. This Court does not think they have made any loss by the change, and it is the impression of everybody that the public business will go on the better for it. Poussin endeavours to make another use of it, by telling them that their allegiance is dissolved by the death of the Contractor and that they are free to take more advantageous engagements with France: but I don't find that any reflection is made upon his discourse. On the contrary I expect this Court will affect a great pliability in what they have to treat with Vienna, that they may gain an early interest in the young Emperor. And it is for that reason a good time to press the sending of their contingent for lower Saxony. The Imperial Minister has written for directions about it, and when he receives them, I suppose it is her Majesty's pleasure that I should second him as I was ordered to do the last year.

There is another circumstance which will facilitate this affair, which I have learnt from the Prussian Envoy, which is that His Majesty (whose interest in having the Diet of that circle meet, has been the principal ground for refusing the contingent without it) does now begin to think it more for his interest that the Diet should not meet at present, because the Directorate, which he aims at, is to continue in his hands no longer, till there be an occasion for a new Diet, which he foresees must happen in a short time by the death of the old Duke of Zell, whose employment of Colonel of the Circle must be filled in a Diet, which makes it more the King of Prussia's interest to stay till that opportunity gives him the Directorate, which he will then have a prospect of keeping in his hands for as long a time as Sweden has done.

On Saturday last there arrived here a gentleman from the King of Poland without any public character; he had a letter for the King which he delivered him in a private audience on Sunday. I have not yet seen him in private, but by the discourse I have had with him at Court, I understand he is come to pursue General Fleming's negotiation to work them up to some generous and friendly resolutions in favour of his Master. He would have me countenance his negotiations and proposes that his Master's best hopes are placed on the favour of the Queen and her Allies. I shall know more particulars of his



business here, and then I shall desire your honour's directions how I am to carry myself. As far as I can judge there is so little of generosity and so much fear of the Swedes in these Councils, that I don't think he has much assistance to expect from them.

This Minister of Poland has advices that the King of Prussia has concluded his Treaty with Sweden, which may be called a Treaty of Partition, since it gives Churland to the Swedes and Polish Prussia to the other with the four towns of Dantzic, Elbing, Thorn, and Marienburg; the Court has the same advices and incline to believe them.

They have another which they are not less uneasy at that the Dutch merchants have their agents in France and Flanders who make secret proposals of forwarding a peace if they may have advantages for their trade exclusive of other nations. What they are afraid of is that France to gain the Hollanders will sacrifice the Danish commerce and load it again with the 50 sols per tun which it has been exempted from during the war.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>August 11.</sup><sub>July 30.</sub> Copenhagen.—This King received yesterday a letter from the town of Dantzic dated the 1st instant N.S. complaining of the Swedes having invaded their territory without any occasion given by them, and expressing their apprehensions of further hostilities unless speedily relieved by the good offices of his Danish Majesty and of the other princes whose interest it is that their city should retain its liberty. The Council have had this letter before them and have taken no other resolution upon it but of sending new directions to their Ministers in England and Holland to press those Courts to a more warm concern for the preservation of that city, without determining what they will do towards it themselves, which considering their present tameness will be nothing unless egged to it by the Allies. The Minister of Prussia has by the same post received orders to acquaint this Court that the enterprise of the Swede is without the knowledge or consent of his Master, who has sent orders to his Minister to dissuade the King of Sweden from it. They make no reflections here upon these protestations. The union they observe between the Kings of Prussia and Sweden makes them very desirous of closing with the House of Lunenburg to form a counterpoise. If the House of Lunenburg have the same inclination, and will make any advance towards it; I don't doubt they may have their alliance upon their own terms. The new envoy for England has been in danger of being stopped in his journey he has met with so few friends in the Council that it was unanimously proposed to the King to send another in his room more fitted for the employment, but they were silenced by the King's telling them that he thought him an able man.

We have no certain news of our Eastland Convoy though there are ships come in that left England five days after them.

What English ships were in the Sound are sailed for Gottenburg to join four English men of war that are said to be there. I wish they meet with no privateers in the way.

*Docketed.* Received August 18.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1705, August  $\frac{21}{10}$ . I will not trouble you but with a word or two by this post. Your bill of extraordinaries I signed immediately and I doubt not but it will meet with dispatch in another place. On Monday next the Queen will make a further declaration in Council concerning the privateers, which will set your merchants entirely easy, but there remains a particular thing, which I think (in my private opinion) will be of great service to the public and to preserve a good understanding between the two crowns, and that is to continue Mr. Rosenkrantz envoy here; as he is very just and vigilant for his master so he is very acceptable for his probity and other good qualities here besides he hath credit as he is believed to be true to the common cause and I fear another at first will not meet with that success. This is a tender point and you must manage it accordingly, but I recommend it to your care as a matter of importance, which I could further explain if it were necessary and you will easily guess. We know who is named to come in his place which I fancy he will now like well enough to keep.

Can Mr. Plessen do anything in this?

I repeat again you must manage this dexterously.

*Draft in Harley's handwriting.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, August  $\frac{22}{10}$ . Elsenore.—Yesterday was the Queen's and Princess's birthday which was celebrated by a great entertainment. All the foreign Ministers were at Court to pay their compliments upon the occasion.

Since this reign it has been the custom to give them no part in these public rejoicings, but yesterday, when they least thought of it, they were invited by the Marshal to stay dinner with him. The ambassador of Muscovy and the other envoys having accepted the invitation I would not refuse it, though I very much suspected we should not find ourselves much honoured by it, and it fell out accordingly; for at the Marshall's table there was not any one man of distinction, not so much as a White Ribbon, which is about the degree of a Knight Bachelor in England, to keep us company. My brethren were very uneasy at this neglect, but, however, took no other notice of it, but only refused the like invitation that was designed them for night and resolved to lay the matter before their respective Courts, for their direction, whether for avoiding the like neglects for the future they ought not to wave coming to Court upon birthdays. This being a joint resolution has engaged me in giving your honour the trouble of this narrative, and tho' it

be not a very agreeable one I must beg leave to enlarge by a particular relating to myself:—After dinner I happened to come into one of the ante-chambers, where I found the Queen and the Princess playing at lansquenet. The Queen was pleased to order me to make one, and not long after the King came also into it; the play lasted till suppertime, when one of the officers of the household brought an urn filled with lots out of which every man was to draw the name of a lady that was to be his partner during the supper and the ball. The urn was presented to the two gentlemen that sat of each side of me, and I was passed, upon which the company went to their entertainment and I went home. What makes this passage the more observable is that the common excuse alleged for excluding the foreign Ministers has been pretended apprehension of their disputes for precedence; but all such disputes are removed by this drawing of lots; the men being obliged to follow the rank of the women whose names they draw. Another argument alleged for this exclusion is the example of the Courts of France and England, where foreign Ministers are not admitted to the Prince's table, upon no occasion, which is very true, but those Courts give the same exclusion to all their own subjects of what degree soever, but here the exclusion is only against the foreign Ministers, while their own people of an inferior rank are admitted. If this were the only innovation they have attempted of late to the prejudice of the Foreign Ministers, it might be easily connived at, but it reaches to so many other particulars of which I have a whole list for your perusal when called for, that I believe it will be thought necessary that some stand be made against these endless encroachments, and now there is a new Minister coming from hence, such a method may be taken with him as may oblige this Court to alter their measures and not to look upon her Majesty's extraordinary condescension in consenting to their new ceremony as a deed by which she had alienated all the privileges and distinctions due to those who have the honour of serving her Majesty here. The Prussian envoy had a more particular slight put upon him yesterday than the rest by not being invited with them, which I believe was done to gratify the Queen, who has not forgot the injury done her by his daughter. The Dutch convoy arrived here yesterday opportunely to pay their compliments; they saluted the castle at their coming in, with 25 guns, extraordinary, out of each ship, and at dinner when the Castle fired at the drinking of healths, the convoy fired once round out of every ship and hung out all their colours.

Monsieur Pless left Copenhagen on Tuesday last, he designs to take the Duke of Marlborough's convoy to cross the sea. When he took his leave of the King, his Majesty desired that he would do him good offices with the Prince and her Majesty, and he told him with some concern that he was afraid the King of Sweden's interest was greater in England than his, which



opinion Mr. Pless tells me he endeavoured to argue him out of, but there does not want the endeavours of other people to continue him in it. I had a very remarkable conversation two days ago with 1038 who very ingenuously owned his opinion that the interest of Denmark consisted in a good intelligence with France and (which is still stranger) with Sweden, but I should not much take notice of what he says, but that I know it to be the scheme of 1173 (the Duke of Holstein) councillors, but it is too chimerical to take effect, and I believe is only intended for amusement.

Captain Lang, whose name is known in England, is playing his tricks here. The King has given him an employment in his Customs upon the promise of great discoveries of frauds committed in the Sound. He has begun with two Danzigers who have laden at Memell for Holland. They have been brought up to Copenhagen and unladen, but no fraud has been detected. The Prussia envoy has received orders to complain of this usage. His discoveries are meant against the Swede! whenever they dare venture here to pursue them.

*Docketed.* Received September 3.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>September 5,</sup>  
August 25, Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of  $\frac{21}{10}$  August and return my most humble thanks for the despatch you have given my bill. Monsieur Rosencranz's revocation was despatched from hence on the 11th of the last month. Van Stucken has had his instructions these ten days and has sent away his baggage. But how little reason soever I had to expect any success I was resolved to attempt what your honour recommended to me, I proposed it as from myself to those whom I already knew to be of my opinion as to the unfitness of this choice, but they all agreed it would be to no purpose and would make the matter worse to move the King any more in it, for I have already acquainted your honour that it has been openly opposed in Council. Rosencranz' stay is impracticable upon another account all his relations being against it who have procured his recall in view of a greater preferment. After all you will have a man in England you may manage, and Rosencranz' good intentions may be as useful here. The place his friends wish him is that of Governor to the Prince Royal, but he has for competition Mr. Secretary Wibe whose father was Governor to this King and he will probably carry it, and in that case it is believed Rosencranz will be Secretary in his room. Monsieur Wyberg, envoy to the Emperor, is returned from Vienna: his private affairs are thought the chief motives of his journey. He has some pretensions to be a favourite which he would not have prescribed by too long an absence, and there is an appearance of a vacancy which would accommodate him. Monsieur Cormaillon, the Governor of this town, is quitting his employment to Col,

Eicksted who is groom of the stable, a place Monsieur Wyberg pretends to as eldest bedchamber man. In his journey he waited upon the King of Poland and I believe has some commission from Vienna and Dresden relating to the Polish affairs. I have not yet sifted him, but he has already dropped that it is much desired at Vienna and Dresden, that the Alliance between this Court and Hanover should go forward; as sent the Ministers of Poland are very warm upon, but the difficulty does not lie here, this Court being so perfectly well satisfied with the King of Prussia that they are for throwing themselves headlong into the Lunenburg Alliance, but they are not so ready at Hanover where they may have very good reasons for deferring it.; but I think this Court ought at least to be kept in the hope of it, it being only an offensive alliance they desire, which is of that nature that nobody can be justly offended at it.

Heins the Danish Minister at Moscow being lately dead, one Gruat is named to succeed him. He is a Commissioner of Trade and a retainer of the Holstein faction.

The two Danzigers brought up hither upon suspicion have been both unladen and no fraud found. The Prussian Minister has given in a memorial about them as being laden with Prussian goods. They begin to wish here this matter undone again.

*Docketed.* Received September 8.

[ROBERT HARLEY] to [JAMES VERNON.]

. . . . . Allies.

What is written above is what the Queen hath directed to be written to all her ministers. I am very glad to find that you are in so good favour with his Danish Majesty which I doubt not but you will improve for the benefit of her Majesty and the common cause. I sent you by last post a letter of *cachet* all in the Queen's own hand to the King.

P.S. The convoy is arrived from Hamburg and Mr. Rosenkrantz will go back with them about fourteen days hence. [1705].

*Undated. The draft is missing.*

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

I shall tomorrow signify to Mr. Rosenkrantz that the Queen will give the necessary directions to make the King of Denmark's subjects happy with relation to the commerce. We only expect the return of the post from Holland to bring in the States' agreement with her Majesty's project concerning the passports and then this affair will be entirely settled I hope to your satisfaction.

*Draft in Harley's hand. Undated.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, September 1<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—This Court is in great alarm at the illness of the Queen Consort. She had been out

of order for three or four days but the night before the last she was so ill that her life was despaired of. She has miscarried being twelve weeks gone with child, the King watched with her the whole night, and is exceedingly afflicted, this being her third miscarriage. To-day I hear she is something better. Monsieur Wyberg returns to Vienna in three weeks to be there in time to get good quarters for his Danes. I find by his discourse he is not satisfied with the progress of his negociation at Vienna where he complains to find but little disposition towards gratifying his Master in any of his demands: in that of the coadjutory he says he had not that assistance from Mr. Stopney which he was made to hope for.

Van Stucken is still here. He says it is for family business, and that he shall be shortly going. This Court has the news of the Swedes and Hanover troops having put the Mecklenburg country under military execution, they complain of some informality in the manner of it, but I believe will take no part in the quarrel though they have an alliance with the Duke of Mecklenburg.

P.S. I hear there is a Minister upon the road to come hither from Wolfenbuttle. I believe it is to engage this Court to support their pretensions against the Electors. The Minister of Prussia has received orders upon the same subject.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received Sept. 10. Nine days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, September  $\frac{18}{7}$ . Copcnhagen.—There being nothing of any moment to advise at present from this Court, that I may not make a gap in my correspondence your honour must be satisfied with trifles. The King is still at Friedericsberg a house of his own building within a mile of this city, where he is making a great garden and avenues, but his chief diversion is stag hunting, which he follows three or four days in a week. I generally used to make one upon these occasions, till what happened on the birthday, since which time I forbore this part of Courtship; but being often told that the King enquired after me I waited upon his Majesty in his Park on Tuesday last, and he did me the honour to keep me at dinner with him in a pleasure house called the Hermitage, which is so contrived that the King dines without any attendanee the table being conveyed from the kitchen by a machine and shifted as often as they please with great facility. There was nobody at the table but the King, and his two brothers, their two Marshals, and the grand veneur. The King was in perfect good humour, and I was the better pleased with my entertainment that this is the first time any foreign Minister has been placed at the King's table since I have known the country and gives me hopes that there will be better measures kept with them for the future. There happened in that very place two days before a very remarkable contest. Count Ahlefeld who makes no



mystery of his affections for France thought fit at that table and before the King to declaim against the allies and to lament the King's not being engaged with France from the beginning of this war.

Marshall Pless, who is a young man of great spirit and a much better understanding than the Count, thought he might use the same freedom of arguing for the King's alliances, which the other had used in arguing against them, and told him among other things, that France never intended to take any engagements with the King, but only to amuse him with a fruitless negotiation and make him useless to himself or anybody else; which had plainly appeared immediately before the signing of the Treaty with the Allies, when the French Ambassador was called upon to make proposals which might prevent the Treaty, but had none to make that were of a nature to be accepted; then he told him the advantages that had accrued to the King by the Treaty with the Allies and by the neutrality.

The Count pretended to be for neutrality, but the other told him his neutrality was very like partiality. The King took no part in the argument, and seemed not pleased with the Count for moving of it, and took several occasions of mortifying him upon the score of the College of Commerce, of which the Count is President and the author of its constitution; it had been talked of at the table that the ships which came last from the East Indies for the Danish Company had been ill used by the Dutch Governor at the Cape. The King said that was owing to the wisdom of that College who had advised him to seize a Hollands East India Ship in Norway. He asked the Count how far they were advanced in their Treaty of Commerce with France which they had been so long about and to so little purpose. That Treaty as I have formerly advised your Honour has been upon the anvil these two years. The French following their old maxim of always having a negotiation on foot though they do not mean it should come to any conclusion. The Danes propose to acquire by this Treaty the same privilege in trade which the Dutch enjoy in France, but that France keeps as a bait to lead the Dutch to their purposes and will never part with it to the Dane whom they neither fear nor love. The generality of people here are persuaded to believe that we are not far from a general peace and that France will make such proposals this winter as will satisfy most of the Allies. This opinion is very industriously propagated by Poussin and greedily received by this people because they wish it to be true.

The Danzig ships are released but they will make no satisfaction for the damage done to the lading and the Prussian Envoy pursues that demand very coldly.

P.S. The Court is gone into mourning for the Duke of Zell though they have not any notification of his death.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received 20. Thirteen days.

## ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1705, September  $\frac{25}{14}$ . I am satisfied in your reasons about Mr. Van Stucken and shall say no more upon that subject since 'tis too late. I have not mentioned to the Queen what happened to you at the birth night because you said that you had other complaints, which when you send me the particulars I will lay them all together before her Majesty, Mr. Rosenkrantz is desirous to go before winter. To oblige his Danish Majesty the Treaty may be exchanged at Copenhagen, the money being already remitted. You saw the draft of the Treaty when you were last here and I think you approved it ; and Mr. Rosencranz made no objection but against the word Idonia, which I think is of no consequence. If you have any objection or any observation to make upon it, pray let me have it.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

## ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1705, September  $\frac{28}{17}$ . Whitehall.—Last post brought no letters from you so that I hope the Queen of Denmark is perfectly recovered. Last Sunday Mr. Rosenkrantz received his audience of *congè* and is preparing to be gone with the first Hamburg convoy. Enclosed I send you a letter from the Queen written all with her own hand to the King of Denmark. It is upon a particular occasion of his Danish Majesty's transmitting some papers of consequence to the Queen. You will deliver the letter to the king with the first opportunity. If he enter with you into discourse upon the subject of it you will entertain it, otherwise you need not take notice you are acquainted with the particular contents but only in general.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

## JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>October 10</sup> September 29. Copenhagen,—I have received your commands of the  $\frac{14}{5}$  September. The form for the renewal of the Treaties having been adjusted while I was last in England, I have no objection to make against it. They very much long here to have that exchange performed. Besides their instrument of Ratification, I am to receive from this Court a discharge in full of all pretensions upon her Majesty in virtue of the Treaty of 1696, or the demands of any arrears due in the last war.

Mr. Van Stuken begins his journey some day next week, he has obtained an augmentation of 1000 crowns per annum to his allowance. Monsicur Rosencranz's friends had taken better measures if they had procured him that augmentation, in lieu of insisting upon his being recalled. One of the employments he had his eye upon is promised to another. The Court has been these three days in a ferment upon receiving the news of the Bishop of Eutin's death and of the Administrators taking possession *vi armata*. The Council has been assembled extraordinarily upon this occasion, and they have given it as their

unanimous advice that the King ought to support his brother's pretensions to that Bishopric. The Chancellor told me yesterday that the Administrators using force in a cause that was depending before the Courts of the Empire, between him and the King's brother, was an affront not to be borne by the King : that the King would write to the Emperor and to her Majesty that means might be found to prevent the ill consequences of these proceedings, and accordingly there has been despatches made by this post for her Majesty, for the Emperor, and the States. I hear that in their letter to the Emperor they fix a term of one month ; in which time, if the bishopric be not sequestered into their hand, they will send troops to drive the Administrator out of the bishopric and are in the meanwhile ordering several regiments into the neighbourhood. They tell the Emperor, that if this should produce war betwixt them and their neighbours, it will oblige them to call their troops out of his service which is a consequence he is concerned to provide against.

Notwithstanding these high words and threats nobody here believes that they have a stomach to begin a new broil while it remains doubtful with what success the Swedes will terminate this campaign in Poland, while none of their neighbours show any willingness to support their pretension. The King of Prussia has already refused to meddle with the sequestration and the Duke of Zell when formerly applied to declared himself directly against them. They design now to apply themselves to the Duke of Wolfenbuttel who is become Director of the Circle by the death of the Duke of Zell ; but it is not certain he will meddle in it.

Mons. Grund, the Envoy to the Czar went aboard a frigate on Tuesday last who is to carry him to Conigsberg from whence he is to follow the Czar to his army.

English masters who are come into the Sound from Courland complain of ill usage and exactions imposed upon them by the Swedes while they were masters in those parts, but when the Russ had driven them away they met with quite different usage.

*Endorsed by Harley. Received Oct. 8. Nine days.*

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, October 13. Copenhagen.—I received yesterday your commands of September 12 and delivered the same day Her Majesty's letters to the King, who entered into no particulars and you may be sure I was not forward to intrude myself into matters not designed for my cognisance. The letter I mentioned in my last to have been written to the Emperor on occasion of the Administrator's possessing himself of the bishopric of Eutin is sent by this night's post. The troops who are to march into Holstein have already received their orders. They consist of 2000 foot drawn out of the garrison, and of 200 horse of which one regiment is taken out of Fuhne, the rest out of Sleswick and



Jutland. They are to be quartered upon the King's lands in the neighbourhood of Eutin and then to wait for further directions, which will depend upon the answers they receive from Vienna, which they are encouraged to believe will be favourable both by their own Minister at that Court, who is now here, and by the Emperor's Minister resident in this Court. Count d'Eik, the Emperor's Commissary at Hamburg, has taken one step favourable to them, in writing to the Administrator to forbear taking possession till the Emperor had decided his title, but that has not hindered him from obliging all the subjects of that bishopric to take their oaths to him, since which he has withdrawn his troops. The advice the Emperor's Ministers here give to this Court is to forbear using the King's name in this controversy, that he may not engage the guarantys of the Treaty of Travendahl against him; and to insist only upon the right of the Chapter who allege that their engagement to elect in the House of Holstein is become void by reason that there is but one person in that family in a capacity of being elected, which makes it to be no election.

The most that this Court seems to expect from the Emperor is that he will declare all previous elections to be void and order the Chapter to proceed to a new one in which case it is not very clear which of the pretenders would have the most voices; and from the guarands of the Treaty of Travendahl they hope that they will not interpret that Treaty to the prejudice of the Chapter who were no parties to it.

Van Stuehen is set out this morning for England; his journey being hastened on account of this new incident.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, October <sup>17</sup>/<sub>6</sub>. Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the <sup>2 October</sup>/<sub>21 September</sub>, with her Majesty's directions discrediting the groundless reports of a Treaty, which was a track I was in before and I shall now pursue with better authority, though the work be almost done to my hands; those reports falling of themselves for want of a foundation. In relation to England they never had any credit but any report of that kind to the disadvantage of the Dutch is very greedily hearkened to here, who remember with resentment how themselves were left at the Treaty of Nimeguen and who have lasting quarrels against Holland for the French trade. This Court has from time to time received information of proposals made to the great towns of Holland from France, but the answers that have been made to them make them believe they will not produce any immediate effect. I except some few of the Ministers who are so opiniated in their expectations of Holland's running headlong into a peace that it looks more like the effect of their wishes than of their judgment.

The accounts I gave your honour of some civilities I had met with here was only that honour might be given to whom honour

is due, for whoever serves so great a Queen cannot fail of being used with distinction, especially if it be understood that he has a countenance from his own Court, that I must expect from your honour's generosity and goodness and it shall be my endeavours to deserve it.

The business of Holstein is in the same state. The troops embark on Monday. The Court of Gottorf have sent your express to Sweden and the army. I have acquainted the Duke of Marlborough with what I know and have sent him a copy of the King's letter to Her Majesty.

I have seen a letter of 27 September from Toulon : there [was] a general want there of everything necessary to put a fleet to sea. A squadron was designed for Brest under command of Mons. Langeron.

P.S. The King has to-day consented to accept of the letter notifying the Duke of Zell's death from the Elector of Brunswick.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, October  $\frac{27}{16}$ . Copenhagen.—The sending away the French Emissary out of Holland has for the present put a stop to the discourses of a peace, which shews what it was those discourses were founded upon—the endeavours of a party in Holland to promote peace with France. Monsieur Newport of Rotterdam who was Commissioner for settling the trade with France at the last peace is named as one of the most active promoters of the French designs and the Danish Minister had written hither that there were several in the Government of his opinion, but I never heard it surmised that such proposals received any countenance in England.

We have heard nothing of the three battalions since their being embarked for Holstein, which makes them here in some pain for them, the winds having been high and contrary. Their quarters are assigned them at Azehoa, Segeberg, and Oldesloh, which are bailiwicks belonging to the King. Monsieur Wyberg who is still here has received advice from Vienna of their having had the news there of the Bishop of Lubek's death and, as he says, that the Ministers were inclined to have the bishopric taken in sequestration.

This King has been lately advised to require a new oath from all who have any employment under him. It is said to be a very long one consisting of many particulars of a very extraordinary nature. There has been no copies of it delivered, it being read to those who take it out of a scroll of paper to which they afterwards set their names. I hear that two heads of this oath are to reveal whatever they hear which may relate to the King's person or government or interest ; the other to confess whatever they are conscious to themselves to have done against the King's interest. It is expected that some considerable people will refuse this inquisitory oath, which

is looked upon as a device of their enemies to get them out of employment.

All changes will be the more observable at this time when the King has upon his hands this ticklish business of Lubeck. I have from very good hands that her Majesty's letter has been extremely agreeable to the King.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received Oct. 29.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, October  $\frac{31}{20}$ . Copenhagen.—I am to acknowledge with very great thankfulness the light you are pleased to give me by your letter of the  $\frac{20}{1}$ th instant, for my conduct in this ticklish business of the bishopric of Lubeck. I think the difficulty is very exactly stated, to consist in finding out a temperament for preserving the peace in these parts without engaging the King of Denmark's honour. I do not omit in the conversation I have with these Ministers, to represent how inconvenient a conjunction this would be for Denmark to engage in any broil when none of their Allies are in a condition to give them any assistance, and how very insufficient the expedient would be of recalling their troops out of our service, since everybody understood the difficulty was not how to get troops, but how to pay them. The best is, I find these arguments very unnecessary, and that neither their countenance nor discourse, nor the method they have taken in this affair, do shew any forwardness to begin a broil, nor do I know of anything that can encourage them to it; they are sure of having the Elector of Brunswick and the King of Prussia against them; they received yesterday a letter from the King of Prussia which did as good as tell them so. From the King of Poland they expect nothing whose affairs are here thought desperate, and the terror of 1658 is very fresh in their memories. All which makes them very susceptible of any proposal for accommodating this affair, which may consist with the King's honour. The difficulty, may be, will be greater to persuade the other side to terms of composition who seem hitherto resolved to maintain their possession, as they have got it, by force, which they say here cannot be suffered from so small a Prince as the Administrator in a controversy with the King's brother. At Gottorf they look upon the point as already decided by the Treaty of Travendahl, but here they say that no Treaty between Denmark and Holstein can prejudice the rights of a third, viz., the Chapter of Lubeck, an independent member of the Empire who was no party to that Treaty; that Denmark does not seek to invalidate the Treaty of Travendahl, but that it is a common interest of all the members of the Empire that justice be not denied to any of them; that the Chapter having very material exceptions to allege against the pretended obligation of choosing six generations in the House of Gottorf; and that they ought to be heard in the Aulik Court where by the constitutions of



the Empire such causes are tryable ; that the Administrator's refusing to submit to that jurisdiction, is a contempt of the Imperial authority as well as an indignity offered to Prince Charles, who though elected by a majority will submit to any legal sentence though it be against him. They are in suspense yet of the resolutions of Vienna, there being no answer come to their letters. In general their opinion here is that if none of the allies give encouragement to the Administrator he will submit to terms of accommodation. I took yesterday an occasion, from Mr. Roseneranz having received the instrument of Ratification to bring hither, to compliment the King upon that matters being as good as over and that there remained nothing more to be exchanged between the crowns but mutual good offices, and services. I knew this would lead the King to open himself upon the business of Lubeck. He told me he was very much satisfied with Mr. Roseneranz's last relation, by which he understood that this matter was right taken, *bien compris* was his expression. He said, for his part he desired no disturbance in these parts, nor he believed nobody else did besides the French, the interest of the Allies was to prevent it, and he thought he had proposed the likeliest means. I thanked his Majesty for the tenderness he shewed of the public good which could not but suffer extremely by any new disturbance in Germany. The King then said that all would go well provided the Elector of Hanover did not so much hearten the Administrator in being refractory, but that the Queen might be a means to prevent that. I told him, I supposed the Elector would not be forward to do anything that could justly 'choch' the King, but that I thought there was more danger in the intermeddling of another power, who, may be, might be glad of a pretence to such new quarters the King easily understood. I meant Sweden and said he was of the same opinion, but that he would give them no pretence.

They have an ill account of their embareation for Holstein. The ships have been dispersed by storms. There are but two yet heard of and out of one twenty four men have been lost going ashore.

There are twenty-four English merchantmen in the Sound waiting very impatiently for convoy : five of them are ships for the Queen. We hear by ships that some of the last convoy lay still in Norway, and that the Russian Fleet was ready to sail from Areangell the 10th of September, N.S.

*Doeketed.* Received November 2. Thirteen days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>November 3</sup>  
October 23. Copenhagen.—This Court has not yet received any answer from Vienna to their letters concerning the bishopric of Lubeck and consequently that affair is still in the same condition. I have seen the King of Prussia's letter to this King in which he exhorts him above all things to

preserve the peace of Lower Saxony and to keep to what has been agreed by Treaty between the Crown of Denmark and the House of Holstein; this is taken here as a direct declaration against their pretensions and a mark that the Court of Prussia is engaged in all the measures of Sweden. They expect better measure from Vienna. The Imperial Minister here is of opinion that the Emperor will think fit to declare both elections null, which would be satisfactory here, because they seem to be sure of a majority of votes in case it comes to a new election.

The reason alleged for the nullity of the former elections is that the due form was not observed in neither of them. A new election will likewise set aside the Treaty which obliges the Chapter to choose out of the House of Holstein, because there is a clause in that Treaty that says that it is to have no force, unless there be two eligible persons in the Ducal House which plainly now there is not. Voiding the elections makes for the authority and profit of Vienna, and is a sure expedient for preventing the forcible possession the Danes threaten to take the 9th instant. The consideration of Sweden is the only thing that can delay it. In the meantime the three battalions of this garrison are by this time in Holstein, and the Court seems resolved to execute their menace upon the 9th instant. Prince Charles's family press it extremely, and none of the foreign Ministers that are here have any orders to oppose it unless they receive them by the next post. It is not believed here that the Administrator is in a condition to resist, so that it may go off without bloodshed.

*Docketed.* Received November 2. Ten days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>November 7</sup><sub>October 27</sub> Copenhagen.—The post of yesterday brought no letters from England, but the Imperial and States Ministers received very *a propos* orders from their Masters to dehort this Court from using violence in the business of Lubeek. The Dutch Envoy addressed himself to the King to let him know that the States had received the King's letter, but they could make no answer to it till they had advised with the Queen of England and their other Allies, who were equally with them concerned in the matter; that the time the King had assigned in his letter was so short that they could not in that time have consulted their Allies; they therefore desired the King to prolong the term, and in the meanwhile to forbear hostilities. The King's answer was short and not very distinct, as to a compliment he did not much relish. The Emperor's Minister who had received a letter from the Prince of Salm of the same contents with what the Dutch Envoy had told the King satisfied himself with shewing that letter to the Ministers here. They have both been told by the Ministers that the King does condescend to their desire of delaying of hostilities, the Dutch Envoy has been told, for eight days

longer, but they have assured the Emperor's Resident that they will abstain from force till they hear further from the Emperor and the Chancellor has himself told me that that is the King's intention. I am likewise informed that this has been the unanimous advice of the Council, but that the King has been very much dissatisfied that the same people who advised him to fill his letters with menaces, should now advise against putting them in execution. But those who have longest known this Court judged from the beginning by their not immediately dispossessing the Administrator, but leaving room for the intercession of the Allies, that they never intended to push this matter to extremities, and it is very much to be imputed to the Imperial Court that they have gone so far, since they have been always fed with hopes from thence, who have in this cause made contradictory orders to flatter both sides. But they will now want all the art they are master of not to disoblige one side or other. A ship that came in five days from Königsberg brings news of King Augustus being gone through that country *incognito* to join the Czar in Lithuania.

Inclosed is an account of cordage furnished to Sir Stafford Fairborne which has not yet been discharged by the Admiralty. The Commissaries of War have let me know at the same time that they desire to have cordage returned them rather than money. Your honour will be pleased to recommend it to the Admiralty, that the cordage may be sent with the first opportunity or the money.

*Docketed.* Received November 10. Fourteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, November 13<sup>th</sup>. Copenhagen.—I delivered her Majesty's letter to this King on Monday last making him a compliment upon the occasion, the King expressed himself to be pleased that the Queen had made him stay so little for an answer and I am since informed that he was much more pleased with the obliging expressions of the letter. The answer of the States was delivered the same day by their Minister giving the same advice for preserving the peace in these parts, but differing in the obligingness of expressions. Yesterday I received from Mr. Stanhope copy of an order of the States to their Minister to verify his solicitations here for abstaining from force, with a desire that I would concur with him, which coming recommended to me from Mr. Stanhope and being conformable to what your honour has already intimated to me of her Majesty's intentions, I did recommend the point again to the Ministers. They appeared to me more reserved than when I last spoke to them, and less willing to promise anything which alteration I cannot more readily impute to any other cause than the return of Privy Councillor Ahlefeldt, and some advice they have had of the Court of Vienna growing less inclinable to their cause. Howsoever I shall continue to recommend to them the peaceable



methods of pursuing their pretensions, and it is to be hoped they will not reject an advice that comes to them from so many hands, and I believe it still more certain they will not determine anything till they hear what becomes of affairs in Poland where they now appear to them in full crisis.

*Docketed.* Received November 20.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, November  $\frac{24}{18}$ . Copenhagen.—Prince William younger brother of the King of Denmark departed this life yesterday morning. He had been ten days ill of the measles, and two days before he died the consultation of physieians had judged him out of danger, he was 18 years of age, but of a very weakly constitution. The King had a kindness for him and shows great concern at his loss, which weakens this Royal family in which there are not many good lives.

We want four posts from England and we have nothing from Vienna upon the affair of Lubek which is in the same posture that I represented it in my last.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received December 1, eighteen days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, November  $\frac{17}{18}$ .—Copenhagen.—Since my last I have received new instance from Mr. Stanhope for joining with the Minister of the States to dissuade this Court from the *via facti*. The States have been so earnest with their Minister that for their satisfaction he found himself obliged to desire a conference with this Ministry that the promises he could draw from them might be the more authentic; and a conference was to-day granted him at which were all the King's Ministers, and I was desired to be present. The Chaneellor told us he was ordered by the King to let us know, he had communicated to his brother Prince Charles the desire of the Allies for a surecase of *voy de fait*, that he had induced his brother to a delay of three weeks, provided the Queen of Great Britain, and the States, would engage that, after that term, the bishoprie should be evacuated by the Administrator's troops, and that in the meanwhile no innovation should be made, nor the Circle of Lower Saxony nor any other power interpose in the matter; nor should the Administrator bring into Holstein any foreign troops; protesting withal that, if, at the expiration of the said three weeks, these conditions are not fulfilled, Prince Charles should not want the King's assistance to enable him to take other measures: in which ease the King promised himself likewise the assistance of the Queen and the States. The Chancellor then told the Dutch Envoy that the King was very willing to accept of the offices his masters offered for accommodating the matter with the Duke, and that those of the Queen of England would be no less acceptable; but that he could not in honour enter into any negotiation with the Administrator while he remained in a

possession so unlawfully and violently taken, that, if the Administrator persisted to refuse this reparation, the King would be excused before God and men from the ill that might follow upon it. This declaration being made, I told them I would give the Queen an account of what they said to me in the King's name. I desired them to explain from what time the term of three weeks was to begin. They answered from this day. I told them I would then take the liberty to represent that that was no time at all; that in this winter time it was very possible for the three weeks to be expired before the Queen could so much as hear of this declaration; that if they should reckon their weeks from the Queen's receiving advice of the declaration, the time would be still too short, for it was not probable the Queen would come to any resolution without consulting with her Allies who are equally concerned with her in the peace of the North; so that, if they meant the Queen should concur with them, they must prolong their term.

This they promised they would represent to the King. The Dutch envoy told them that what time was necessary to the Queen was necessary to the States who would resolve nothing without her. This was the sum of the conference which was demanded by the States Minister and to which I was invited by the Ministers of this Court, in which I have not engaged the Queen to anything while this Court have engaged themselves to quietness for three weeks at least longer and what they threaten at the expiration of these three weeks, is not to dispossess the Duke but to take other measures, an expression of such a latitude, that it may be interpreted to mean anything or nothing, and then the representations we made at the conclusion of the conference may gain more time still, but that I can give you no account of, this post.

In the meanwhile it is to be hoped some expedient may be found to satisfy this Court. They seem here to be less intent upon getting the bishopric for Prince Charles than for having a reparation for the affront that has been put upon them for the bishopric is of a very small value, but they think the Administrator's behaviour not sufferable. To mitigate this it is represented to them that if the Administrator's possession be an affront to them, it is still a greater to the Emperor, who is the judge; that their resentment need not go faster than the Emperor's; and that by keeping pace with his, it will have the greater force. They allege two reasons why the Emperor ought to dispossess the Administrator, the first is;—for his taking possession *vi armata lite pendente*; the 2nd is for his neglecting the necessary formality required by the Canon law, as calling a General Assembly of the Chapter, &c.; the same Canon law and custom of the empire requiring likewise that the Chapter should for one whole year after the decease of a bishop enjoy both the administration and revenues of the bishopric. If upon any of these reasons the Emperor think fit to order the

Administrator to quit possession to the Chapter, that is what will entirely satisfy this Court, and, if the Emperor afterwards pronounce judicially against Prince Charles' pretensions, it is what they seem ready to acquiesce in.

They have reprinted here their argument to show that the Treaty of Travendahl does not make against them. There is nothing new in the book, but they have added in the appendix some rescripts of the late Emperor, which shew that he looked upon this cause of Eutin as a *lis pendens*, and a protestation that was made at Altona by the Imperial mediation against the article of Eutin as destroying the liberty of election of a free Chapter. The Holstein Minister here sends about his contra Rescript. It must be the Emperor's Court that must untangle a matter they have so strangely entangled. Prince William the King's younger brother has had the measles, but he is in a good way of recovery. Madame Meyercrone is arrived here from France. She pretends to solicit money for her husband. She has been in Holland and spoke with the Earl of Portland, which looks as if she had something besides her own affairs to solicit. I shall hearken after her. She confirms the reports of the poverty and misery of France, and disorder of their money affairs since Huguetan's shewing them a pair of heels. Poussin reports here that M. Meyercrone made proposals of peace to the King of France in name of the Dutch.

P.S. Prince Charles has written to the Duke of Marlborough. This minute I receive a message from the Chancellor that the King will stay four weeks for the resolution.

*Docketed.* Received November 20, fourteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, November 28, Copenhagen.—We received yesterday four mails from England, which have brought me your commands of the 10th and 13th instant N.S. Your honour will have been since informed by my letter of the 7th instant of our having peaceably got over the first term which the Danes had set to their cessation from hostilities, and by my letter of the 17th instant that they have given us a new term of four weeks to be reckoned from the said 17th November, N.S.; at the expiration of which term, in case there be nothing done for their satisfaction, they threaten to drive the Administrator out of his possession by force. They receive no encouragement to pursue this resolution from any of their neighbours, or from any of their allies that is able to assist them, since they have dehorted them from it; and, if it should engage them in a war, they may expect to have them declare against them. None appears more forward in opposing their pretensions than the Court of Prussia. Their Minister here has had orders to communicate to this Court the copy of a letter to the King of Prussia from his envoy at Vienna, in which he informs him that the Prince of Salm desired of his Prussian Majesty that he would induce



the King of Denmark to desist from his claims to the bishopric of Eutin, since that matter had been decided against him in the late Emperor's time, and that the not publishing the sentence was only out of respect for the King of Denmark.

On my part I am not backward in representing to them the dangers that would follow from hostilities begun in Holstein to the public and to themselves. It can hardly be imagined that they will put in execution their threats of dispossessing the Duke while so many Princes dissuade them from it, and their giving term after term shows that they only desire to be drawn out of the business with honour and this is what they chiefly expect from the good offices of the Queen, who they say, better deserves that confidence from them than any of their Allies. I have formerly hinted to your honour that the great difficulty in this matter was not who should enjoy the bishopric, which is infinitely inconsiderable, but the indignity of suffering a young brother of Holstein to seize a possession litigious between him and a Prince of Denmark, and the garands of the Treaty of Travendahl should keep them from resenting it at present; yet as long as the Court of Vienna does not decide it against them they will think they have a right of dispossessing the Administrator whenever they have an opportunity.

A sentence from Vienna cuts off all pretences to any such right and salves the point of honour, and if anything could be thought of to accommodate Prince Charles all parties would be satisfied; what has made the King so warm in this matter being the solicitations of his brother who finds himself here in very narrow and uneasy circumstances. This is what I take to be the present sentiments of this Court. How far they may be altered by any new conclusions at the Hague I shall punctually inform your honour.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received December 1, fourteen days.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1705, <sup>December 1</sup><sub>November 20.</sub> Whitehall. I received this morning both your letters of November 14 and 17, which I read to the Queen this evening. I need not repeat to you anything I mentioned in my former letters because I know your zeal to pursue all her Majesty's directions. There remains nothing more than to continue your endeavour to prevent the using of force and to shew that Court they have greater probability of salving their honour by a Treaty than any other way, but nothing of that kind can be done unless they will allow a longer time; and this I am going to mention is a demonstration of the necessity of it viz., your letter that brings the account that his Danish Majesty will prolong the time for a month was fourteen days a coming hither; and after this there must be letters written to the Hague and answers come from thence before they can be transmitted to Copenhagen, so that you will see how impossible it is to have anything done in the term

limited. Therefore you will use the best arguments you can for a longer prolongation. I have mentioned the same this night to Mr. Rosenkrantz who did not give any answer to it.

P.S. I know you will have your eye upon M. Meyercroon's proceedings.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>December 1</sup>/<sub>November 20</sub>. Copenhagen.—The States General have written again to the King upon his agreeing to the term of a month for the accommodation of the difference of Eutin. They desire that the King, in order to accommodate the difference with the Administrator would send his powers to Monsieur Van Stuken to adjust that dispute with the Ministers of Holstein at the Hague, both in relation to the present possession as to the main of the difference. To-day the Minister of the States has been told by the Secretary of State, that the King does consent that Monsieur Van Stuken shall be empowered by his brother Prince Charles to treat with the Ministers of the Administrator at the Hague.

They do this because they think it below the King to treat with the Administrator; howsoever by this means here is a negociation begun and consequently less danger of any hostility. If the Administrator shows the same regard for the remonstrances of the Allies in the negociation, the difference will soon come to a happy conclusion.

Prince William will be buried to-morrow at the Cathedral Church of Roschild.

*Docketed.* Received December 1, eleven days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, December 1<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the 1st instant. Your honour is already informed that the King had upon a letter of the States consented to give power to Monsieur van Stueken to treat with the Minister of Holstein at the Hague for adjusting the difference of Lubeck. We hoped here that if the Administrator had sent the like power to his Ministers a Treaty might have been set on foot and by that means the danger of hostilities provided against. But they have information here from Gottorf that they have neither sent such powers to their Minister at the Hague nor so much as answered the letter of the State that invites them to it. This conduct of the Administrator makes them bear very impatiently our dehortations. The last term they gave expires the 1<sup>st</sup>/<sub>6</sub> instant, they will not prolong it, though I believe they will wait to see what effect the letters they wrote last post to the Emperor and to the Queen are like to produce. Madame Meyererone's business here seems to be chiefly to have her husband recalled out of France and for a recompense of his

long service called to Council; the French cooperate to the same design by talking of M. Meyercrone as a man disagreeable in France. They have a double view in getting him recalled; . . to place a friend in the Council and to get the character of envoy conferred upon Count Ichak, a Dane in their service and at their devotion. I don't find that the Court of France has confidence enough in this King as to use him as an instrument for bringing on a peace or dividing the Allies. Madame Meyercrone and all those who have correspondence in France do agree of the great scarcity of money in that country.

Here is a discovery made of a correspondence between Poussin and Van Stoken who is going to England, which I hope to make such use of as to break the neck of that voyage. I shall be able to give a full account of it by next post.

*Docketed.* Received Dec. 15, fourteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, <sup>December 5</sup> November 24. Copenhagen.—I have your favour of 13 November. I am very much concerned for our disappointment at Badajos and more for the cause of it which may produce the like effect in other places, unless the providence of the State take care in time to check this stubborn humour of their people by some exemplary punishment, which may teach them not to sacrifice public good to private resentment. The success of her Majesty's arms in other parts of Spain does amply repair this loss. The intelligence that this Court receives from France prepares them to expect a general revolution in Spain, which is ground enough for a congratulation to her Majesty whatever the detractors of her Government may think of it.

The well wishers to our Alliance are overjoyed to find how heartily the Parliament concurs with her Majesty's measures, and the partisans of France are daunted at the vigour we shew in England. They talk of nothing but peace; and, not finding that the court which they have made to the Dutch produces the effect they expected, are for changing their battery and sometimes talk of plausible proposals to be made to the Emperor, at other times regret that they can find no admission to propound terms to her Majesty whom they are now taught to use with more honour and respect than formerly. They would do anything to separate the Allies, from whence we may conclude that if the Alliance continue firm they may be brought to submit to anything.

This Court is lying in wait for the mediation. M. Meyercrone has been bickering at it in France, but by what I understand, he has found no great encouragement there. Maybe they had rather have that of Sweden which was thought not unuseful to them at Ryswyk. Our affair of Eutin is now got into a peaceable method, the King upon a letter from the States has empowered Monsieur Van Stucken to treat with the Holstein



Minister at the Hague under the mediation of the Queen and the States; but he is to insist upon a declaration from the Holstein Minister, or from the mediators that within fifteen days after their first Conference, the Administrator shall quit the possession of the castle and territory of Eutin to the Chapter, which shall be no prejudice to his title; for whoever is Bishop is by the ancient capitulation obliged to leave the administration of the bishopric the two first years to the Chapter. You may judge by these peaceable proceedings that her Majesty's admonitions for preserving the peace of Germany have not been ineffectual here. This Court has been in great perplexity at a new oath of fidelity required of them, which many scruple for its unreasonable length and captiousness of expression: it was not resolved in Council and is like to be first refused by those of the Council.

The good old chancellor is sick, but I hope he will recover; we should lose in him a minister well disposed for the public.

The King has named a governor for the Prince Royal. There was great solicitation used for Monsieur Rosencranz; and the King seemed well disposed to him, but the lot is fallen upon M. Holst, a gentleman of Mecklenburg, formerly Governor to Prince Charles. The Danes impute it to the prevalent interest of the Germans in this Court.

The English ships that lay in the Sound expecting convoy, out of impatience of hearing of none appointed for them are sailed for Gottenburg and I believe some of them will hazard running over without convoy rather than stay to be frozen up in these parts. Our Eastland trade has been very unfortunate this year.

P.S. Having informed Mr. Secretary of the Eutin affair last post, I forbear troubling him by this.

*Docketed.* Dec. 5 N.S. Received 5.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, December  $\frac{15}{4}$ . Copenhagen.—I intimated in my last, that there had been a discovery made of a correspondence between Poussin and Van Stucken who is going to England; the manner of it was that M. Van Stucken having been engaged by Poussin to send him intelligences out of England, had given him a cypher to be used betwixt them. This cypher was seen at the Hague by the envoy there who persuaded his brother to send this cypher to the King and entirely renounce this dangerous correspondence. The King received it on Friday last and having deliberated with his Council what was to be done in this case, it was resolved that this cypher should be shown to Poussin in a full Court to make it a public affront to him, and to shew the world how much the King disliked such practice. According to this resolution, the Secretary of State, Seested did yesterday in my presence, and that of all the foreign Ministers and of

several of this Court shew this same cypher to Poussin, asking him whether he knew the hand and how he came to think the King's Ministers capable of such knavery. Poussin was abashed at first, but soon recovered his usual impudence and told the Secretary that Van Stucken had desired to correspond with him for some private affairs of his in France : and soon after he left the Court in a huff.

The Council who have always dissuaded the King from sending Stucken to England have been very well pleased with this early discovery of his folly before it be grown too late to be remedied, and have again moved the King for some other to be sent in his stead, and that I might not be wanting in my part towards Stucken's recall I took an opportunity this day to tell the King that I had no occasion to take notice of a matter to her Majesty which had been made public, but out of a desire of serving him and preserving the correspondence between the two crowns, I thought myself obliged to represent to His Majesty that Monsieur Van Stucken was like to prove a very unfit instrument for those ends in England.

The King said that Van Stucken sending back the cypher would satisfy everybody of his intentions. I begged his Majesty's pardon if I thought the world would not be so easily satisfied ; that Van Stucken's intimacy with Poussin during all the time of his stay here, was very notorious ; that he had kept this cypher some time by him and had not returned it till he came to the Hague, which gave ground to believe that his brother was the author of that resolution. The King said something indistinctly which I took to be that he would consider of it, but to follow the blow I went immediately to the Chancellor and desired that he would propose that Van Stucken might be stopped from going over into England till this matter was further enquired into. The Chancellor has promised it me and I expect the effect of it, and if Van Stucken be stopped he will certainly be recalled and another appointed in his room. Rosencranz is designed to be Marshal, which is a Lord Steward in little, Monsieur Staen the present Marshall being made Land Drosart of Oldenburg in room of Monsieur Holst, who is appointed Governor to the Prince and enters upon his function after the holidays.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received December 15, eleven days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, December 22. Copenhagen.—Your honour will have been informed by the Danish Minister at London of what has been very carefully concealed from the Ministers of the Allies at this Court ; that on Tuesday last orders were sent to Major General Passaw the commanding officer in Holstein, to take a joint possession with the Administrator of the castle and district of Eutin. This expedient was proposed underhand

by the Imperial Ministers Count Eck at Hamburg and Monsieur Hansen here in the beginning of this controversy, but nothing then would satisfy this Court less than obliging the Administrator to quit possession entirely ; but having since observed that the Emperor and the Allies would not come up to their pretensions, they are come back to this project of a compossession as a like expedient for preserving their right without committing hostilities. If they have had any encouragement to this resolution, it has not been through the Dutch envoy, or through me, who have been very assiduous in dehorting them from all experiments that might endanger the public peace ; and for that reason it has been kept a secret from us lest we should have protested against it.

The business is now done, and on Friday we shall hear how discreetly.

This morning the Emperor's Resident gave in a memorial upon orders he received yesterday from Vienna for a further delay. He has been told that he is to have his answer on Friday that is to say when they know what has been done at Eutin. They are very angry in the meanwhile at the inconsistency of the Imperial Court, who has always persuaded them to look upon this controversy as a matter not yet decided and would at the same time persuade them to allow the Administrator to do himself justice by force.

My remonstrances to the King in relation to Van Stuken have had the same success with those which had been made before upon the same subject by the whole Council. The King has that opinion of his abilities that he does not conceive he can be anywhere unacceptable. I suppose him now in England where I leave him to recommend himself. Poussin for his own justification says he knows no reason why Van Stuken should not be a spy for France in England as well as Meyernerone for England in France. He has recommended him to several of his worthy acquaintance in England, so that he is like to keep good company.

Our Eastland fleet sailed ten days ago from Gottenburg for England. Notice has been sent them of the Dunkerk squadron being out again. God grant they have received the intelligence time enough to avoid them.

*Docketed.* Received December 24. Thirteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1705, December  $\frac{29}{18}$ . Copenhagen.—The account we had yesterday from Holstein was that the Danish troops would be before Eutin to-morrow the 30th instant. They will be near 3000 strong and have cannon with them in case the Administrator's people refuse to admit an equal number of Danes to remain in the castle with them or else quit the possession to the Chapter to be held by them till such time as the Emperor has decided to whom it ought of right to belong. The news of



Monsieur Pathul's being imprisoned at Dresden is a great surprise to this Court : they expect to hear that Count Fleming has been involved in the disaster of his friend, and this is understood to be the first opening of a tragedy to be acted in Saxony. The project of bringing that country back to popery has been on foot ever since the King's perversion and letters have been intercepted from the Prince of Furstenberg to the Pope which have unravelled the whole mystery. Fleming and Pathul are the heads of the party opposed to Furstenberg, who must be taken off before he can execute his project. The King of Poland is gone to Moscow with the Czar leaving by his absence the Prince of Furstenberg in greater liberty of destroying his enemies. A fellow is coming hither from the Prince of Furstenberg without doubt with very dangerous commissions which shall make me watch him the narrower.

The enclosed letters were sent to me this morning to be forwarded under my cover for England. Upon examination I find them more fit for your honour to read than anybody else. After you have made the proper use of them I desire you would keep them by you till I can give your honour a further account of this matter and [have] informed myself whether I cannot get further intelligence by the same hand.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received December 28. Ten days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, January 5, N.S. Copenhagen.—This Court received yesterday by a courier from Eutin the account of what had been transacted there on the 30th and 31st December, the extract of which your honour will find enclosed, in the original High Dutch, it being sent me so late that there was not time for translating it. This account informs us that the garrison was summoned three several times to admit an equal number of Danes into garrison with them, which they within refused and fired upon the Danes as they approached ; who on their side planted their cannon and soon obliged the garrison to desire leave to go out of the place, which was performed on the 1st instant and the Danes had taken the possession and continued in it, although their orders were to quit the bishopric as soon as they had obliged the Holstein to do the same. To redress this mistake an express was despatched yesterday with orders for the troops to return incessantly to their old quarters. This morning I was sent for with the Dutch envoy to a conference with the Court, where the Chancellor made us a declaration in the King's name which we wrote from his mouth and which your honour will find enclosed in the original expressions. What I understand by it is that their honour did not permit them to leave the Administrator quiet in his forcible possession, that now they have driven him out they are content themselves to quit it, either to the Chapter to be administered by them, or, in case of their refusal, both parties to be free for the preservation

of their rights to take a civil compossession by way of notary and witnesses and to satisfy her Majesty and the States that they do not mean by this quarrel to disturb the public peace. They declare, for the part that the King or his brother has in it, they submit it wholly to be determined by the arbitrage of the Queen and the States, supposing that the Administrator, who has always declined the decision of the Emperor, will acquiesce in this arbitrage, and that this declaration of theirs will be so satisfactory to the Elector of Hanover and to the Swedes as to take from them all pretence for passing any of their troops over the Elbe. This resolution of referring themselves to the arbitrage and consequently renouncing the Imperial decision has been notified to the Imperial Minister, who is without doubt very well satisfied to see his Majesty delivered out of the difficulty and hazard of disobliging one of the contending parties, as I should have been if the Emperor had pleased to save the Queen this trouble by publishing the resolution of the Conseil Aulique. I cannot but affirm to your honour that, as far as my observation reaches, this Court is very averse to any thoughts of a broil in Holstein, and do not any ways depend upon the assistance of the Czar and less upon that of the King of Poland, of whose conduct they have that opinion that does not suffer them to expect he should succeed in any of his undertakings. I have given Mr. Wych and Mr. How an account of this declaration of this Court in hopes that it may help to lay the ferment which this expedition of the Danes may have raised in their quarters I have delivered Her Majesty's letters to the King and to the two Queens, who all received the compliment with the expressions of the greatest respect for her Majesty.

*Docketed.* Received January 9. Fifteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, January  $\frac{1}{3}^2$ . Copenhagen. I am very glad that I am able by this ordinary to acquaint you that the King has at last consented to Van Stuken's recall. The person that is to reimplace him is not yet resolved on. I hear of three that are upon the lists. Monsieur Tuel, a commander in the Fleet, of an ancient family in this country a man of good parts, who speaks the English and is a well-wisher to our affairs; he has been proposed by the Chancellor and the Danes. The Holsteiners would have one of their country in England and the likeliest of them is Ahlefeld the Treasurer's son, who is a young man of very good inclinations; a third that has been thought on is the late Prince William's governor, an honest old German that never has been a man of business. I don't find he has any support in the Council, so that the chance seems to lie between the other two, against whom there can be no other objection but that Ahlefeld may be thought too young and Tuel not rich enough to go through the expense. The Dutch envoy

delivered yesterday a letter to the King from his Masters which contains a kind of complaint of the King's taking possession of Eutin notwithstanding that he had at their instance empowered his Minister at the Hague to enter into a negociation in which they had hoped to find means of preventing such hostilities. They desire the King would withdraw his troops out of the bishopric and they promise to dissuade the Administrator from sending any troops thither, that there may be no more hostilities to disturb the negociation. The King had his answer ready. He said, What the States desired had always been his intention ; that his orders to his troops had been to dislodge the Holsteiners, and then to evacuate the bishopric themselves, leaving it to the administration of the Chapter ; that the Chapter's refusing to accept of that administration had been the occasion that his troops had stayed for new orders, that they were already sent to them, enjoining them immediately to quit the bishopric without leaving one soldier in it and that next letters would bring account that these orders had been followed. It is very true that the administration has been refused by the whole Chapter by the administrator's party, upon pretence that it does not belong to them, who have already acknowledged the Administrator for their bishop, and Prince Charles his party have refused to meddle in it without the others, the clergy and inhabitants of Eutin have likewise refused to take any oath but to the Administrator, which are but ill omens for the Prince's cause. but the King has gained his point by obliging the Administrator to quit a possession which he had taken with so little regard to the King that he had used force and had neglected all the formalities which should have been observed in regard of the Emperor and of the Chapter. The King being now out of the game it may with less trouble be ended betwixt the Prince and the Administrator, and nobody can so naturally put an end to it as the Emperor.

Major General Passau who commanded before Eutin is dead of a wound he received there.

I have no extraordinary compliments to make your honour upon the New Year because I wish you at all times all the happiness imaginable.

P.S. The enclosed is from the Queen Consort. The King has answered the letter of the States by this night's post.

*Docketed.* Received Jan. 16. Fifteen days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, January 1<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—Monsieur Waltersee kissed the King's hand yesterday upon his being appointed to go to England in the room of Monsieur Van Stuken. Of the three persons proposed he was generally thought the least proper for that employment, being a man in years, of no fortune, unacquainted with business and a stranger to this country, to which he has no other relation but the having been governor



to the late Prince William for about a year before his death. That one consideration has outweighed all other arguments with the King, who is for providing for Prince William's servants with the first vacancies. This gentleman is a native of Silesia, has been a governor to several young people of quality in Germany; he passes for a very quiet, honest man, and not Frenchified, so that he may make a good Minister in England.

We hear nothing from Holstein, but that all is quiet there, since the Danes have drawn their soldiers out of the Bishopric and have only left half a dozen menial servants to look after the house and offer the Administrator to keep the same number, but, as I understand by the Holstein secretary here, the Administrator will do nothing that can look like an acquiescence in the Danes' proceedings, nor accept of the arbitrage that is proposed; but, when he sees no armies or fleets to second him, he will probably come to more temper.

His secretary here is a constant attender upon Poussin which makes me believe that he contributes to sour him.

This Court appears desirous to have this controversy left as it is, undecided, till the general peace, but I cannot believe that will be thought safe, since it will furnish a pretence to the King of Sweden to march into Holstein, whenever he has routed the Muscovite, which, maybe, we may soon hear of, since he is in march against them: it is, therefore, very much to be wished that no time be lost in putting end to this dispute, either by both parties submitting to the Emperor's decisions, or that the Administrator would name two arbiters to be joined with those that Denmark has named.

*Docketed.* Received January 19. Eleven days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, January 13. Copenhagen.—Monsieur Van Stuken has had a conference at the Hague upon the same subject with ours of the 5th instant, in which he has explained the King's intentions so obscurely as to oblige the States to order their Minister here to make fresh instance with the King for withdrawing his troops immediately out of the bishopric: those instances have been prevented by the troops being returned to their quarters these ten days. Van Stuken started another novelty at his conference by proposing the Lantgrave of Hesse for an arbiter to be joined with her Majesty and the States, his name had never been mentioned to their Minister here or to me, and it was very visible his being mentioned at the Hague would be no furtherance but a hindrance to the negociation. I have endeavoured to trace from whence this proposal comes, and I find it was agreed on after our conference, at the signing of the despatches that were to be sent by that night's post. The Chancellor was not present nor made acquainted with the proposal, it being the product of the Holstein Councillors. The first notice the Chancellor had of it was yesterday, by Van

Stuken's letters, and to-day he has convinced the King of the inconvenience of it and has persuaded him to send Van Stuken contrary orders.

I have all along observed the Holsteiners disaffected to the way of arbitrage and inclined to that of the Imperial decision, what their reasons are I will not determine, but those who know the Imperial Court is inclined to pronounce in favour of the Administrator do suspect that our Holsteiners mean the same thing and that now they have secured his Majesty's honour they would be very glad his interest should not increase in Holstein by the accession of that bishopric to his family.

I send your honour another letter from the same hand. You will be pleased to let the mother know what becomes of her daughter. The ease seems very compassionate. She will without doubt implore her Majesty's justice against the Oglethorps.

Upon the account of the last year's revenues of the Crown the Customs are sunk 40,000 riggs thalers and it is thought the rigorous handling of trade will bring them every year lower.

Our Van Stuken is named to go to Ratisbonne but I am mistaken if this embassy do not end as the other.

*Docketed.* Received Jan. 21.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, January  $\frac{26}{15}$ . Copenhagen.—I cannot acquaint your honour with anything more remarkable by this post than with a rencounter which happened here on Sunday last. The Envoy of Sweden had invited to dine with him the Imperial, Dutch, and Prussian Ministers, the Secretary of Holstein, the Master of the Ceremonies of this Court and myself. There was no drinking nor anything said at table that could offend the Swede. After dinner we fell into a discourse upon the public occurrences and one of the company said that the affairs in Spain looked towards a general revolution; the saying of that provoked the Swede to such an excess of passion as would have surprised me to have seen in Poussin himself. He told us the Princes of Europe would never suffer that Monarchy entire in the House of Austria; that there would be a stop put to that career; that he could not imagine what England and Holland meant, to drive things so far and not be satisfied with a Treaty of Partition; but he said, whatever their meaning was, the union between them would not last long enough to effect it; that the emulation of trade would soon make a quarrel between England and Holland and that the bigotry of the Court of Vienna would soon make a break between them, and their Protestant Allies; but if, contrary to expectation, the union between these powers should continue, rather, said he, than suffer the Archduke to be master of the Spanish Monarchy, all Germany will revolt against the Emperor; and then, taking himself by the collar, "I will give this head," says he "if before the year goes round

the Princes of Germany do not league together to suppress the growing power of the Emperor." The Prussian envoy was by all this while and contradicted none of his allegations ; the rest of the company stared at the furiousness of the orator ; and without doing him the honour to answer him they all took the first opportunity to leave him to his own reflexions.

I will not pretend to judge whether the Swede in this open heartedness of his spoke the sentiment of his Court, or only that of his own rancoured breast ; that can best be made out by comparing with his, the conduct of the other Swedish Ministers in foreign Courts. And if he should be found more bad than any of them, this must be imputed to his intimacy with Poussin, who has the same interest in the doating envoy from Prussia and the Secretary of Holstein, and in this last more scandalously than the others ; he values himself upon having been complained on to the Administrator, and that he had received no reprimand for it, but only a caution to hide that correspondence from the Ministers of the Allies—a caution he is much above, for from dining out with us, he drove directly to Poussin, to tell him without doubt how meritoriously the Swede had fought the battles of France against the Allies.

This Court grows so sensible of the mischief Poussin does here that they are not far from resolving to send him away which he has more than deserved from them by open attempts to suborn their ministers and servants.

Monsieur Meyerncrone writes from Paris that he is there every day used worse and worse and can obtain no justice for the Danish subjects. Two of their ships have been lately confiscated there without a colour of justice. Complaining to Monsieur Ponchastrain, that the Swedes were much better used, he was answered, they deserved it better, for while the Danes were everywhere fighting against France and her Allies the Swedes were carrying on a war of the greatest usefulness to France by the diversion it made of the forces of Germany.

Meyerncrone's reiterated petitions for being recalled are at last granted, but I am assured here that no other Minister shall be sent in his room, but the business left to a secretary.

The King of Poland has written a letter with his own hand to his minister here to justify the imprisonment of Patkul : the reason he gives for it, is that he signed a Treaty with the Emperor's Ambassador for sending into his service the Muscovites that are in Saxony, and that without any order of the Czar. This does not alter the opinion this Court has of Patkul's innocency, and the great indiscretion of imprisoning a man that has been very useful to them.

The Danish Minister at Berlin informs this Court that M. Bielke is very busy there with his proposals for debauching that Court, one of his offers is the mediation at the general peace if he will act in the meanwhile as a neutral Prince.

*Docketed.* Received Feb. 2. Nineteen days.



## JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, January  $\frac{30}{19}$ . Copenhagen.—It was not till yesterday that this Court received the account from the Hague of the declaration made there on the 19th instant by the Swede's Minister. They think it a very haughty one, since it not only implies that they will, at a months' end, send troops into Holstein to restore the Administrator to his possession (which may be done without an army, there being no Danish troops left in the bishoprie) but that their design is to enter the Danish territory to oblige the King of Denmark to promise not to disturb him in it. If this be attempted, the Dane will be driven to use all means of defence against an enemy who come to prescribe him laws in his own country. The Museovite and Polish Ministers have been very diligent in laying hold of this opportunity of exasperating this Court against the Swedes they have given in memorials to offer in their Master's names, subsidies and troops in case this business of Eutin should occasion a war between this country and Sweden. The Czar offers the 8000 Museovites which are in Saxony to serve here without any pay and this unfolds the mystery of Patkul's being arrested at Dresden for offering those troops to the Emperor.

Here is just published a new deduction against the Administrator's pretensions; it is said to be written by a Canon of Lubeek and is much better than any has been published yet; but it being very diffuse and in high Dutch I do not send it. It proves at length the nullity of the Treaty of 1647 (upon which the Treaties of Gluckstadt, Altena, and Travendahl, have been founded) because it was made during the troubles of Germany and is destructive of the liberties of the Church of Lubeek; all such Treaties having been cancelled and declared null and void by the third and fifth articles of the Treaty of Westphalia, and these Articles declared applicable to the Treaty of 1647 by a decree of the late Emperor given in the year 1684. In conformity to which decree the Imperial Mediation at the Treaty of Altena did enter a formal protest against the insertion of the article about Lubeek into that Treaty as being repugnant to the peace of Westphalia and to the constitutions of the Empire; that if at the Treaty of Travendahl, the Imperial Ministers, as being then partial against Denmark, omitted to renew their protest, the Chapter was not wanting to themselves, but endeavoured to supply that defect by a long memorial which they sent to the Emperor to show the wrong that was done them and to protest against that combination for oppressing the Church of Lubeek, and of an Elective Bishopric, making it an inherit[ance], and when the Bishop would have inserted in the capitulation a clause reserving this pretended right to the House of Gottorf, the Chapter would not send the instrument to Vienna for the Emperor's approbation, till that clause was razed out, nor has it ever been admitted into the capitulation of any bishop there being in none of them any mention of this

Treaty of '47, but on the contrary express engagements of the Bishops to maintain the Chapter in as free a use of their right of election as ever had been enjoyed by them. The next argument is that supposing the Treaty of '47 to be valid, it can be now of no use to the Administrator for all that is pretended to be acquired to the House of Gottorf by this Treaty, is that the Chapter shall elect their bishop in that house, which supposes that there are in that house two persons eligible, one to be elected and the other to be rejected ; but now there is no choice but the Administrator, the other person being a minor and a Prince Regent, which are both incapacities for holding that bishopric.

He next comes to prove the invalidity of those resolutions of Chapter and decrees of the Emperor which are alleged in favour of Gottorf. And as to the first he shews they passed in Chapters, clandestinely and unlawfully convened, where most of the members were absent for want of due notice and those present not unanimous, no such resolution being passed without a contra protest which was always signed by much the major part. As to the Emperor's decree so much insisted upon, which was obtained in June 1702, he observes, it issued out of the Privy Council where by the constitutions of the Empire such causes are not triable, but in the Council Aulique where the cause was then actually depending.

2ndly that the said decree contains no decision but barely a promise that the Emperor would procure such a decision for Gottorf, a promise the Emperor has no power to make it being provided by the 41 Article of his capitulation that he shall not overrule or anyways meddle in the proceedings of the Conseil Aulique, but shall confirm all their lawful sentences ; and 3rdly that the Emperor had himself destroyed the decree by letters written in the month of July and September, 1702, to the late bishop and to his commissioner at Hamburg declaring that he reserved the cause of Eutin to a further examination and decision.

He comes at last to examine what right the administrator may have acquired by taking possession and here he brings canon law and civil law to show that his right is not made the better, but the worse by it, and that a bishop elect, though never so fairly, by taking possession without the communication and consent of the Chapter forfeits all his right, but the Administrator's case is still worse, because he forcibly intruded himself into possession while his title was disputed and under trial before the Courts of the Empire, which he calls a high contempt of the Imperial authority and in law Latin *Attentatum*, besides that it is a breach of a particular privilege of the Chapter of Lubeck which gives them the administration and the revenues of the bishopric for two years after a bishop's death, and in case of a contested election the administration *tanquam sede vacante*. The rest of the book contains a full

narration of the other irregularities committed by the Administrator, and gives a list of the present canons, by which it appears there are eight for the Administrator and ten for Prince Charles.

By these arguments the Danes endeavour to convince the world that the Administrator has been justly dispossessed and ought not to pretend to any advantage over his competitor Prince Charles till it has been given him by an arbitrage or a decision at law, and the garands of the Treaty of Travendahl that they are not concerned in this matter as not being obliged to make good the Administrator's irregularities, or to deprive the Chapter who is a free member of the Empire of their just right and liberties. They say the violence of the Administrator obliged them to send their troops to Eutin and their inclination to peace to draw them off again; and offer the compossession to the Administrator or the whole possession to the Chapter. They observe that the Swedes do in their declaration own the Administrator's to be a contraverted title and depending before the Aulik Counsell and yet insist upon his being restored; which is to oblige the Danes to acquiesce in a possession which the Swedes themselves judge unjust, that such a proposal must proceed from mistaking their inclination to peace for a fear of the Swede, for which they think there is no occasion now they are otherwise so embarrassed. These are the arguings here. I do not yet know what orders they send upon it to Van Stucken, but my endeavours shall be to incline them to moderate counsels.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received Feb. 3. Fifteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>February 2</sup><sub>January 22.</sub> Copenhagen.—We had six mails yesterday from England and with them yours of 28 December. If this Court do receive a mortification in the business of Lubeck they have nobody to complain of but themselves, who undertook it against the advice of all their friends. They are very far from being as firm in maintaining it as they were precipitate in beginning it. I hear of no preparation making to hinder the Swedes and Lunenburgers from effecting their designs. What they seem to trust to here is, that the Allies for their own sakes will prevail with Hanover to be satisfied with one of the expedients proposed of the castles being put into the hands of the Chapter or any other sequester and would be very well satisfied it should be Wolfembüttell as Director of the Circle, provided Sweden would take no part in it, but this is an expectation that may fail them and then I don't see how they will hinder the Administrator's being restored, which is what they should have thought on long ago.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received Feb. 4. Fourteen days.

P.S. Van Stucken is not to go to Ratisbon. The present Minister there is said to be recovered from his distraction. Major General Schonefeld of the Danes in our service is called



home to command in Holstein in the room of Major General Passau. The Duke of Sonderbourg succeeds Schonefelt as Major General and a new Brigadier is sent from hence who is one Bosset a Frenchman and a Papist.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, February  $\frac{14}{5}$ . Copenhagen.—Monsieur Roseneranz arrived here on Thursday last. I have received from him the Instrument of the Renewal of Treaties and of the separate article and have given notice that I was ready to perform the exchange, whenever they pleased. They have desired a copy of the Instrument that theirs may be conformable to it, which I have accordingly sent them, but I believe they will not proceed to the exchange till they have heard that the 50,000 Rix thalers is ready to be paid them, which I have not been able to inform them of, Mr. Stratford of Hamborough having those commissions.

We received yesterday 3 mails from England without any command from your honor for me, nor have I heard anything lately from the Hague about our Eutin affair. The States have sent new directions to their Minister; they do not insist upon restoring the sole possession to the Administrator, but only endeavour to preserve the King in an accommodable temper by telling him that the Swedish declaration is not to be understood as threatening of him since it was only directed to the Queen and the States, to quicken them in their endeavours of making up the difference.

They continue to profess here a disposition of being very easy in the accommodation provided their adversaries will abstain from force and be contented to acquiesce to the Imperial decision or an amicable composition; and now the point of honour is cleared the King does not think himself any more concerned, but will be satisfied with what will satisfy his brother, whose ambition seems to be chiefly to acquire a more comfortable subsistence than what he enjoys at present, so that any addition to his fortune will satisfy him as well as the bishopric. The point to negotiate will be the raising of such a sum, for which there were some likely proposals made while the Duke of Marlborough was at the Hague. All the regular troops in this island have received order to be ready for a march, for which I hope there will be no occasion, because we hear nothing of the Swedish troops advancing and it is said their measure[s] are altered by the King of Prussia's refusing to join any of his troops with them as they had once expected. This Court is besides informed from England that her Majesty has written to the Courts of Hanover and Gottorf to dissuade them from military executions; add to this that the advices from Poland encourage them to hope that the war is farther from an end than ever. The States have desired that the King would give leave to his officers in Flanders, to raise their recruits in

this country or in Norway, but the King has excused it upon the thinness of his people which does not allow him to raise recruits for the regular troops actually in the country, they being all supplied from Germany.

It has been proposed in council to have Poussin sent away from hence, for his continual attempts to suborn the King's servants and those of other people, but the proposal has been evaded by representing that it was not safe to put that usage upon him till Mayernerone were actually out of France.

Van Stueken has sent a long memorial to the King containing his acquiescence to the King's disposal of him, and desiring that he may enjoy at Ratisbon the same character and salaries which he should have had in England *afin que mes amis les Anglois ne triomphent point de ma perte*. He tells the King in the same memorial that he is much fitter to be a commissioner of the Treasury than a foreign minister those who know his capacity think him equally fit for both.

*Docketed.* Received Feb. 15. Ten days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>March 2</sup><sub>February 19.</sub> Copenhagen.—I received yesterday your commands of the <sup>1<sup>st</sup></sup>/<sub>5</sub> February and at the same time a letter from Mr. Stanhope to advise me of the resolution taken at the Conference at the Hague exactly the same with what your honour had written to me, viz., that there appeared no other way to prevent a present rupture but the restoring the Administrator to the civil possession of the bishopric and its profits; and he to remain in the quiet possession thereof until that affair be determined by such way as shall be agreed on by both parties. In consequence of this resolution the States have ordered their Minister to join with me in representing the same to this Court, which we agreed to do together to the King as being the most effectual method, but finding in your letter a compliment from her Majesty to Prince Charles I resolved in the first place to make use of it to engage the Prince to be an instrument in persuading the King. The Prince did very generously and readily undertake what I desired of him and that very morning let the King know that he would very willingly consent to anything that might gratify the Queen and preserve the peace. The way being thus prepared I went to the King's apartment to wait an opportunity of speaking to him, but was prevented by a message from the Chancellor who desired incessantly to speak with me. I found him at the Chancery with the rest of the Council who began to make violent expostulations at what they had heard from the Hague of the resolution taken in the Conference held there as dishonourable to the King and unfit to be proposed by Allies.

Against this I argued for the honourableness of it, that what was desired for the Administrator was not a military (which had given the King offence) but a civil possession, which by the laws of the Empire did belong to the first possessor, and that nothing was more honourable than to be guided by law : that the principal party, who was Prince Charles, had already expressed his acquiescence to the Queen's desire and that there was no dishonour in taking the advice of such Allies as the Queen and the States ; and as for the fitness of it, nothing could be more fit than by so small a compliance to avoid a dangerous war. This did not calm them but as I was proposing the expedient Monsieur Bluhme said aloud, it was not worth their hearing. I told him it was certainly worth his while to hear what the Queen and the States General had thought worth proposing, and whoever had any concern for the safety of Denmark could not but think it worth their while to hearken to. In such sort of discourse I lost the opportunity of speaking to the King that morning, but in the meanwhile Monsieur Goer had delivered his message to the King as the joint opinion of the Queen and the States ; he found the King very much startled at the Queen's coming into that rejected proposal of the States ; he made little reply to it, but said he would speak about it with his brother. In the evening I had my audience and opened my commission with all possible gentleness. I told him that if the Queen thought of any expedients in this business of Eutin, it was out of friendship for his Majesty : that if the Queen could have thought of any other expedient for avoiding a rupture she had not proposed this : that the Queen thought a war dangerous at this time for Denmark, but that his Majesty was best judge of, though he could not but be sensible of the ill circumstance of the times which were such that his Majesty could expect little or no assistance from his Allies. The King heard all with a great deal of calmness, and said I should have his answer after he had spoken with his brother. The day after, which was the 2nd instant, I was desired to come to the Chancery to receive the King's answer at a conference with the Council, which was what I sent your honour by the last post. When I received this answer I entered into no contest with them about it, but in parting told them that whatever the consequences might be of such a resolution, the Queen would be free from the imputation of them. I could not but be concerned at receiving from the Council such a declaration which exposed the peace to the utmost hazard ; was full of reflections upon the Queen and of allegations notoriously false ; and went from them fully resolved to do my utmost to get it recalled. I had no hopes left but in the King, and to him I again made my applications, by the means of one that he consults though he be no member of the Council, and by his means I obtained a second audience for that evening, at which I was so happy as to obtain that resolution from the King, with which



I acquainted your honour by the last post, that the Queen should be mistress of the whole affair; that he consented his brother should quit the possession of the bishopric, and that the Queen by any of her Ministers might put the Administrator into the possession, in which he would not disturb him, that in return for this great complianee he only desired that the Queen and the States would think of some way of satisfying Prince Charles, and would likewise promise that in case the Swede, notwithstanding all pretences being removed, should molest Denmark that in that case the Allies shall not abandon him. This is what I ought to have advised at length by the last post, but was hindered by shortness of time.

*Docketed.* Received March 14. Nineteen days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, March 6.—It was not till yesterday that the King acquainted his Council with his resolution of accepting her Majesty's proposals. You may be sure they used all arguments to move him from it their anger could suggest to them, but to no purpose. I had the honour of speaking to the King after Council and he confirmed to me his former resolution, telling me that he and his brother were of the same sentiment and that his Ministers abroad should be instructed accordingly; so that now the business is over and the manner of redelivering the possession may be adjusted at the Hague. But the manner of this negociation may want some explication, it being something odd, that a Council should be for risking a war in which they are sure of being losers and that a Prince should in a private audience overturn a resolution taken but half a day before in full Council. The particulars of the last you are already informed of; the conduct of the Council is what I shall unriddle to your honour as far as I comprehend it. The Chancellor, who is at the head of them, has engaged his word to the Chapter never to advise abandoning the enterprise; it was the Chancellor's brother who began it, and who by that promise and by other means engaged so many voices for Prince Charles.

The nobility of Holstein have been always suspected of being contrary to the design and those who are here in the Council have handled this affair so awkwardly as to confirm the suspicion; and finding that it lessened their credit with the King they have been obliged to recover it, to go into the highest points the Chancellor could propose, in hopes that the Allies would be always able to prevent its coming to a war by declaring it to be a ease of the garanty of the Treaty of Travendahl, which would put a more effectual end to the Danes' pretensions than this expedient, which though it puts the Administrator into possession, it does not settle his title, nor gives him security that the Emperor at a more favourable conjuncture will not decree him out of it. Another thing they are afraid of is, that if this controversy is to be decided by expedients, that it may

come to that expedient which was formerly proposed of raising 2 or 300,000 crowns upon the nobility of Holstein to indemnify Prince Charles for the loss of the bishopric; which, though they are very well able to raise, and that a war would be more expensive to them, yet they had much rather engage the Danes in a war than consent to it.

It would be just upon another account for them to pay this money. They have been twice rescued at the expense of the Allies, for which they have made bad returns during the time of their power here; if they will be saved now, it ought to be at their own charges.

There would be no end of quarrelling in Holstein if the Allies were always to pay for it. I have accounted for all the Councillors besides the single Dane who in this point gave his voice to the Chancellor and is in most *alieno impulsu mobile lignum*.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, February <sup>29</sup>/<sub>9</sub>. Copenhagen.—Mr. Stanhope having acquainted me that he had received a full power for the affair of Eutin, I thought it was fitting the King should know it from me, though he had the post before received an account of it from his own Minister at the Hague. I took therefore an occasion to-day to acquaint him with it. The King said he was very much obliged to the Queen for her concern for the preservation of the peace of these parts, and that he should be very ready to hearken to any proposals that might consist with honour, but that he hoped the States would not insist on their proposal of the Administrator's being previously restored to his sole possession because he should then be obliged to break off the negotiation and rather put it to the risk of being obliged by a superior force than give a voluntary consent to what he judged dishonourable. He asked me if I knew what were the expedients thought of for accommodating the dispute. I could pretend to give him no account of that, but I told him I hoped his Minister at the Hague would be instructed, not only to hear, but likewise to make proposals which might facilitate the accommodation and hinder things from coming to a rupture. I have since seen the Chancellor who tells me that orders are sent to Van Stuken to declare to the Pensioner that if the proposal of restoring the Administrator be again mentioned he shall refuse from thence forward to receive any more proposals from the States. I find they are encouraged to this declaration by observing that the sentiments in the States are divided about this proposal. When I press the Chancellor to think of some expedient for making up this dispute before it break out into a war, he answers he knows of none but both parties agreeing to have it decided by the law when it is no shame for either side to be a loser, not that they see much hopes of gaining their cause at Vienna, but they think it the more honourable way of losing it.

It would accommodate Prince Charles better, to have it decided at the Hague, where in case of being deprived of the bishopric some compensation might be thought of for him. We hear of no inhibition in form from Vienna which would have been of great use to have restrained the violence of the parties ; only the Emperor has ordered Count Eek to make verbal dehortations, which will make no impression. Here is already a house taken for the Imperial Ambassador named to come hither, it is that of Virek the Prussian envoy, who leaves this Court in spring ; the solicitations of those who dislike his conduct having at last prevailed with his Master to recall him, and it will be no loss to the public. There are two regiments of horse transported out of this Island into Funen to supply the room of two other regiments transported out of Funen into Jutland to be near Holstein. They will be able here to bring as many soldiers into the field as their adversaries, if it be true that they cannot muster together 12,000 men ; but notwithstanding these preparations I do not find by their countenances here that they are sanguine for a war which the Chief Ministers have strong reasons to be against.

*Docketed.* Received February 24. Fifteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, February 21<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant. Nothing has passed here in the affair of Eutin since the rejecting the proposal of the States for restoring the Administrator to his possession ; and all that I have heard from the Hague is that Mr. Stanhope had received his full power, but had yet been at no conference with the States who were busy with their domestic affairs.

Whenever Mr. Stanhope sends me my lesson I shall soon put it in practice and in the meanwhile am preparing them to accept of any expedient for avoiding a breach. The argument is very obvious, not to expose themselves to the torrent of Swedish victories, without funds to maintain a war, without a general of experience to conduct it, and without an ally upon whose assistance they can depend in the present conjuncture which is actually the case, not to mention other circumstances of this Court very ill fitted for enterprizes of danger. It having been all along affected here to use no other name but that of Prince Charles in this enterprize of Eutin ; I have taken care to have it represented to the Prince, what an odium it might bring upon him to have the Kingdom put in danger upon his account, and on the contrary how much it would recommend him both at home and abroad to postpone his private advantage in view of the Kingdom's safety and of the public good of Europe ; and I am accordingly promised that he will declare to the King his brother that he does not desire that his private advantage should be balanced against public interest. They are not to be induced here to propound



any expedients, in diffidence, as I understand it, of their being accepted, but what expedients shall come recommended from her Majesty and the States jointly, will not, I believe be rejected. Underhand there are some expedients talked of here, which would be accepted, such as the raising a sum of money upon the common subjects in Holstein for indemnifying Prince Charles for the loss of the bishopric or the giving him a small county lying in Holstein which does now belong to the Ranzaus but in which the Duke of Gottorf has a right of redemption. If any such compensation could be found out for Prince Charles, both parties would remain very well satisfied with her Majesty's mediation. The letters I sent your honour were given me by Madame Meyerncrone. I had not then leave to use her name. The young woman is in a convent at Paris. Madame Meyerncrone promises me to continue the same good office for her, or any other in her case, that is to say suffering violence on account of religion. She has already given very good instances of her zeal that way, having been the means of many poor women's escaping out of France. She is now returning thither where I believe her husband will continue. The Court of France has disowned Poussin since they have been told that if Meyernerone comes back no other Minister shall be sent in his room till they accept the ceremonial, which they will not do but upon a good account. The exchange of the Ratifications was performed yesterday, upon their being told that the 50,000 crowns were ready to be paid against their acquittance in full. I have the Danish Instrument by me till a safe occasion offer of transmitting it: which, if not sooner, will be when any of Her Majesty's ships comes into the Sound.

*Docketed.* Received Feb. 25. Nine days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>February 9</sup><sub>January 29.</sub> Copenhagen.—The Minister of Holland has been instructed by his Masters to propose to this Court, as an expedient for terminating the difference of Eutin that the Administrator should be allowed to have the sole civil possession of that bishopric, alleging that the honor of the Crown had been satisfied by the Administrator's being deprived of his military possession, and that restoring him now to a civil would be taken as an effect of the intercession of the Allies and of the King's inclination to preserve the peace of Lower Saxony so necessary in these conjunctures. This expedient has not been relished here and this morning, at a conference, the Dutch Minister has been told that the King could not accept of an expedient which he looked upon as dishonourable, since it was obliging him to undo what he had done, and notoriously to prejudice the title of his brother which was as good as that of the Administrator, till it was otherwise decided by a lawful sentence; and till that could he published nothing was more reasonable than that both parties should be upon an

equal foot, in order to which the Administrator has been offered to share the possession equally with Prince Charles or that both should agree to leave it to the Chapter ; or if that was not liked it might be sequestered in the hands of any Prince that had not made himself a party in the dispute, whither they would agree to Wolfembuttle or any other neutral Prince. This is in substance the answer that has been made to the expedient proposed by the States and of which I am desired by the Ministers of this Court to give Her Majesty information. They seem to be here in the opinion that they cannot without dishonouring themselves consent to any other proposals : and in case they be not accepted by the other party, their resolution is to sit still, and let them follow their own measures, which they conclude will be such as are inconsistent with the Treaty of Travendahl, which from that time they intend to look upon as broken and themselves at liberty to resent it upon Holstein or Sweden at the first fair opportunity.

I know but one expedient left to remedy this evil, the Emperor's inhibition to the parties not to proceed, but to leave the possession to whom he shall appoint to take it ; such an order will be readily obeyed of this side and maybe Holstein will consider the consequences of having the Treaty of Travendahl dissolved.

M. Rosencrantz is expected here to-morrow. His successor meets with difficulties in making up his accounts that are like to retard his journey.

*Docketed.* Received Feb. 9. Eleven days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, March 2. Copenhagen.—In answer to your commands of  $\frac{1}{3}$  February I was afraid I should have been obliged to have sent you a long and melancholy narrative of the success of my commission, having had two uncouth conferences with the Ministers ; whose declaration I send you here enclosed. With which not being satisfied, I come this minute from making my remonstrances to the King who has empowered me to assure her Majesty that he will make her mistress of the whole matter and the point of honour does not suffer him to put the Administrator into possession by his own act, it may be done in her Majesty's and the States' name ; and that he will promise to leave him in quiet possession. In return for this he desires the Queen will think of doing something for Prince Charles some other way in case the bishopric be adjudged to the Administrator and likewise that her Majesty might give him some comfort and assurance that, if after taking away all pretences of his side and occasions of the Swedes quarrelling with him, they should notwithstanding anyways invade or insult him ; that he may in such case be sure of not being abandoned by her Majesty and the Allies. This I have had this minute from the King's own mouth with a power of

notifying it, both to your Honour and to Mr. Stanhope. The post is this minute going away, so that I must refer all other particulars to the next.

Protoecolle d'une Conferenee avec les Ministres de Danemarec 2 Mars 1706.

Le Chancelier au nom des autres dit que le Roy leur avoit ordonné de me donner pour response a ma proposition ;—Que le Roy avoit parlé au Princee sur la proposition que je luy avois fait, mais que le Princee avoit temoigné a sa Majesté qu'il le trouvoit fort a son prejudice et meme contre l'honneur et le respect de sa Majesté le Roy lequel a cru que la parenté avec sa Majesté Brittanique estoit si combinée que Sa Majesté elle meme l'auroit jugée audessous d'elle, Sa Majesté eroit d'avoir temoignée tant de douceur dans cette affaire, qu'il n'a pas cru qu'on demanderoit d'avantage du côté de son frere ou de luy et bien que le Roy ait toute consideration et amitié pour la Reine il espere pourtant que sa Majesté ne voudra pas pretendre qu'il fasse une semblable bassesse : de sorte que Sa Majesté ne peut pas accepter cette proposition, et les Suedois et les Lunenbourgeois n'auroient point besoin de faire entrer des troupes dans l'Holstein pour le Chateau d'Eutin ou il n'y a que 2 or 3 personnes civiles qui seront pretes de livrer eompossession de que l'Administrateur la demandera. Mais en cas que l'Administrateur veuille par force chasser ces gens et prendre possession privative, Le Princee Charles sera obligé de le laisser faire et de remettre cette affaire sous la protection du Roy son frere lequel ne manquera pas de prendre ses mesures : et en cas qu'on veut negotier sur l'affairé principale, Le Princee Charles sera pret d'ecouter les propositions et expedients qu'on voudra offrir au Princee, les affaires demeurants *statu quo*.

*Docketed* Mr. Vernon March 2, 1705–06. Received March 14. Twenty-three days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, March 9. Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the 7<sup>th</sup> February which being a repetition of those I had already informed your honour by my letters of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> instant had been complied with I had nothing else to do, but to acquaint the King with her Majesty's earnest concern in this matter and with how much satisfaction she would understand that her proposal had been so readily complied withal by his Majesty. The King had the countenance of being very well satisfied in his own resolution, though all arts have been used to make the proposal and proposer odious to him. The Minister of Prussia had that same evening an audience to notify His Master's concurrence in the proposal made from England and Holland. I am sorry that I must acquaint your honour that in this case I find all the Ministers equally unreasonable and incapable of hearing argument with this difference that in some it is the effect of malice in the other



of judging wrong in this particular ; but the King has been very plainly made to understand the inconveniences their rashness was hurrying him into. The less hope there is of the present Ministry the more care I presume ought to be taken to preserve the King in his good sentiments, to which some compliment from the Queen upon his readiness to follow her advice together with those assurances which he desired in relation to the Swedes [any enemy *substituted*] attacking him will very much contribute, and Prince Charles' behaviour in this matter has been so very respectful to her Majesty that it deserves to be taken notice of.

Mrs. Shaftoe is so close shut up in her nunnery that there is no hearing from her. Her friend tells me that Helvieus is returning to Holland with proposals from France he brings with him a man of business, disguised in his livery. He had one with him at his being last in Holland, whom he left there to carry on his intrigues : by such means the Hague is filled with spies and emissaries.

I am desired to write that the Danish acquittances in part for those sums which they have already received of her Majesty's money now in the Treasury may be sent to Hamburg to be exchanged for the acquittance in full which lies ready. I need not represent to your honour what may be the consequence of my having been so often in the necessity of angering so many people here. I don't value the uneasiness it may bring to myself, but I do apprehend the service may suffer by it. Now this business of Eutin is laid asleep and that no danger appears in these parts, I am for praying with Simeon " Let thy servant depart in peace," but whatever I wish for of this kind it is with an entire submission to what shall be judged more of her Majesty's service, which I shall always prefer before my own quietness, or any other worldly consideration.

*Docketed.* Received March 14. Sixteen days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, March <sup>13</sup>. Copenhagen.—The Dutch envoy has been quickened with a new order from his Masters for insisting upon their proposal which they had not then heard was accepted. In these orders they say that they had hitherto hindered the garands from declaring it a case of the Treaty of Travandahle ; but, if this proposal were rejected, it could be no longer prevented : which implies that now this garanty will be no more mentioned, but the controversy be left to the decision of the Emperor, which is what the Danes have always desired. The Emperor will be in no haste to pronounce a decision and that delay will be no uneasiness to the Administrator, who is in possession, so that both parties ought to be satisfied : and this is what I answer to the Ministers who reproach us with having given away Prince Charles' right by our proposal that that depends of them and of their future negotiations at Vienna. Notwithstanding their

allegations the King continues very well satisfied with what he has done. He has lately told the Queen Mother that he had put the matter into a very good way.

The King is very desirous of having it well understood that he makes a great distinction between the recommendation from the States and that from the Queen, having immediately accepted the proposal when it came from her Majesty, though he had rejected the same thing from the States.

The first answer the King gave me, and which I acquainted your honour with of the 2nd instant N.S. was that he remitted the whole matter to her Majesty's disposal; the name of the States was added in the King's orders to Van Stucken upon my representing the inconvenience of separating the Queen and the States in a matter in which they had acted hitherto jointly. This is a particular the Dutch envoy knows nothing of and which I forgot to acquaint your honour with by the last post.

The Muscovite Ambassador has publicly shown at this Court a letter from their Ambassador at Paris who writes him word that it was the general opinion of people there, that the Duke of Anjou would soon be upon his return for Versailles. The same Ambassador has had orders from the Czar to acquaint this King with his disapprobation of the imprisonment of Patkul as being a violation of the law of nations, for which he should be obliged to demand satisfaction from the King of Poland; this looks as if the Czar was willing to quarrel with his ally, if he could get but a tolerable peace of the King of Sweden.

Our friend Van Stucken has received his credentials for Ratisbon, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Imperial Resident to prevent it; but he is not yet gone from the Hague, which leaves me some hope that his journey may be spoiled still. *Docketed.* Received March 14. Twelve days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, March  $\frac{23}{3}$ . Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the 9th instant N.S. full of expressions of your goodness to me which I should be very glad in any measure to deserve. I hope Mr. Stanhope has put your honour out of pain for the business of Eutin for though I have no letters from the Hague yet I am informed by these Ministers that Van Stocken has made the declaration at the Hague which was promised me here by the King, but I shall not be fully satisfied till I hear it from Mr. Stanhope because of the experience I have lately had of blunders committed by Van Stocken not, maybe, so much through his own fault as of those who send him his orders; but if I find them tricking, they shall have truths told them they will not care to hear. If the declaration be faithfully made as it was promised I humbly conceive there will be no such immediate occasion for a degree from Vienna, which is an extreme remedy and would come improperly upon their submitting to our

proposal which is sufficient to satisfy the Administrator, and the Emperor will be glad to keep measures with a Court that lends him troops for which he pays no subsidy and hardly their subsistence. The formalities of that Court will furnish expedients enough to put off the decision, which the Administrator may patiently wait for, in a warm possession. The Minister from Mecklenburg who came hither in the fright his Master was in after Rhinsehold's victory, is now returning home, having only effected that this King does accept of being an umpire in his dispute with the Duke of Strelitz, he had proposed for mutual defence against an irruption of the Swedes an alliance between this Crown, Prussia, Hesse Cassell, and Mecklenburg, but Prussia refusing to come into it has spoiled the project.

M. M. being ill, I have written to her that I could devise no other way for Mrs. Shaftoe's deliverance but by her means, and that if a little money would effect it, I had so much Christianity as to be at the expense of restoring the lady to her native country and religion. She remits to-night 100 crowns to Paris for that purpose. I should be glad to know how deep your honour would go to have the gentlewoman delivered to you at London.

I am confident M. M. intrigues with money may do a good deal at Paris. I saw no letter for Mr. Shaftoe: it would do well if her Mother would write to her to persevere a Protestant.

*Docketed.* Received March 24. Twelve days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, March  $\frac{3}{13}$ . Copenhagen.—I send you another letter from Mrs. Shaftoe by which you will see that the Ogelthorps are uneasy and for their security against the law, would oblige the young woman to give it under her hand that she has embraced the Romish religion without enticement or force used by them, but she has sense and courage enough to refuse it, though she be in apparent danger of being destroyed. The person at Paris who sends her letter hither, writes word that he fears they will choose to poison her in the Convent rather than let her loose into England. Her direction, as you will see by the enclosed, is *A la Communauté de St. Chomond a Paris*. The 20<sup>l</sup>. I have sent will be conveyed to her and M. M. tells me she hopes that by the help of that she may make her escape into Holland; and if she were herself at Paris she would secure it to me but I think it is not yet decided whether her husband stays there or no, though I believe he will, because they have no hopes of getting him into the Council, which was the project of the journey.

This Court is very much disturbed at what their Minister writes from Vienna of Mr. Stepney's pressing the Emperor to decide the cause of Eutin against them. They say they had hoped that England would have been so well satisfied with



their complianee in restoring the Administrator to his possession for peace sake, that after that the Allies would at least have suffered the Emperor to have proceeded in his own method of deciding the main controversy ; what I fear is, that the Court of Vienna will have the art to throw the odium upon us of a decision which they have long ago promised to Holstein.

I have procured for Robert Pigh who is employed by the Eastland Company in the Sound a discharge from all past or future demands of duties or taxes whatsoever, except customs for merchandise, which is considerable for him who has been thirty years solieiting for a discharge of these demands, which amount to a considerable sum, for which he has been often threatened with execution. I demanded this discharge in virtue of the seventeenth article of the Treaty of Commerce 1670, which I am afraid has been ill observed in other parts of this Dominion where we have factors : and against such complaints here is a preeedent made for their redress.

I have been in great trouble at hearing of your honour's indisposition and shall continue so till I hear of your perfect recovery.

*Docketed.* Received March 31. Twelve days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706,  $\frac{\text{April } 10}{\text{March } 30}$  Copenhagen.—I received yesterday your commands of the  $\frac{30}{19}$  March, signifying that it was left to Mr. Stanhope to concert with the States the means of putting a speedy end to the affair of Eutin. I have received at the same [time] a letter from Mr. Stanhope of the same import together with a resolution of the States to which he had concurred as being conformable to her Majesty's intentions, and therefore desired I would join with the Minister of the States in making the same effectual ; and accordingly after consulting together we resolved to demand jointly a private audience of his Danish Majesty, which we had opportunity to do that morning, and the King was pleased to appoint us at six the same evening, and being admitted we repeated to his Majesty the compliments we had already made upon the perfect satisfaction he had given to her Majesty and the States by his favourable resolution in relation to Eutin, which in this conjuncture was a great service to the public, and in the manner of it was most obliging to our sovereigns. We said that, As they desired that no time might be lost in putting that resolution in execution, they were likewise desirous it might be done in the manner most agreeable to his Majesty, and had, therefore, ordered us to propose that if his Majesty would command his servants to quit the palace of Eutin our Ministers at Hamburg should be instructed to give advice of it to the Administrator, and that he might retake his possession, acquainting him at the same time that it was the civil, not the military, possession and that without any prejudice to the claim or title of Prince Charles ; and that we were empowered to give his Majesty assurance that the

Administrator should not put any soldiers into the Castle of Eutin, nor Prince Charles his title suffer any diminution for his having parted with the present possession. We then proceeded to say that this preliminary point being so settled, we were next to inform ourselves of his Majesty's sentiments about the method of terminating the principal controversy which could be done, either by a legal decision at Vienna, or by umpires chosen by both parties, or by an amicable composition between the parties themselves. That when our Sovereigns understood which of these three ways was most agreeable to his Majesty they would endeavour to bring the Administrator to be of the same opinion. The King heard us with much attention and to the first part of our discourse answered that he had made the Queen and the States the masters of the affair, but he would acquaint his brother with the method proposed for the evacuation of the Castle; to the other part he said whatever way he might pitch upon to terminate the difference, he hoped he should not be without the assistance of the Queen and the States, to procure him a reasonable satisfaction. We thought it here necessary to assure his Majesty that whatever had been promised him would be religiously performed. He gave us to understand he did not like the first of the methods proposed, because the pre-engagements of the Imperial Court, made him despair of any impartiality from thence. He seemed to approve most of an amicable composition, but said he would defer coming to a resolution till he had advised with his Council. Upon this I retired, the Holland's Minister having some other things to speak of, which I was not instructed in.

From the King we went to wait upon the Prince to whom the States had written a letter. We engaged him to like of the method for restoring the Administrator, and acquainted him with what was proposed about terminating the principal controversy. From him we went to the Chancellor acquainting him with all that had passed and desiring his assistance in the Council. He agreed with us that since the possession of the Castle had been remitted to her Majesty and the States, there could be no difficulty in the manner of evacuating it. He informed us that the King had been in a mistake about the method of terminating the principal controversy, by supposing that the Queen and the States would have taken the whole negotiation upon themselves, a supposition which he believed there was never any ground for. He declared his advice should be for an amicable composition, as the likeliest method of procuring some satisfaction for the Prince, that he never liked the way of proceeding at Vienna, which in this whole controversy had been irregular and illegal. He could not approve of an umpirage, because the Administrator would certainly take for his umpires Sweden and Hanover, who had already declared against the Prince. The Minister of Holland confirmed him in his opinion by telling him that the States liked best the way of negotiation.

To-day morning this whole matter was canvassed in the Council, which being over, we were sent for to a conference with the Ministers, and were there told that orders should be despatched this evening for the servants in the Castle of Eutin, that they should deliver the possession of it to the Ministers of her Majesty and the States residing at Hamburg or to anybody empowered by them for receiving it, provided that body did not belong to the Administrator. They desired they might be instructed at the same time to declare to the Administrator that he was not to bring any troops into it, or to acquire any advantage by it to the main point of controversy.

They likewise desired that the Queen and the States would keep the Administrator from molesting those Prebends who had been for Prince Charles. They acquainted us that of the three methods proposed for terminating the main difference the King approved best of the way of negotiation.

I write tonight to inform Mr. Wyeh of what we have done here, that he may send somebody without loss of time to see the Castle evacuated, and when that is done to acquaint the Administrator with it, that he may immediately re-enter into his civil possession. I hope this matter will be entirely over by the end of next week if Mr. Wyeh be provided with her Majesty's letter for the Administration.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received April 20. Twenty-one days.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, April 29<sup>th</sup>. Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the 9th instant N.S. The Minister of the States is not yet instructed about the new regulations for the troops, and I do not understand for what reason it is delayed, but I will not defer it longer than to the next post day to deliver my Lord Duke's letter to the King, because of the other affair which is mentioned in it, that his Grace may have an answer to it, while he is at the Hague.

Prince Charles has received an account, from Eutin, that his orders for delivering the position to the Ministers of the Queen and the States was come to hand, and should be obeyed. I write again this night to Mr. Wyeh to inform him of it and to desire he would without further delay be present at the evacuation of the Castle, and see the Administrator afterwards in the possession. He had conceived his orders to be not to stir from Hamburg till the Danes had informed him that the Castle was evacuated, but I have written him word that it was agreed here that he should be present in person or by deputy at the evacuation as well as at the taking of possession and Monsieur Goes has written the same thing to the Resident of the States, we having been empowered to agree upon this method by our instructions from the Hague. I hope you will soon hear that the matter is ended without any more difficulty.

I hear the King writes to-night to her Majesty in terms which



are remarkable and I believe will be very satisfactory. Monsieur Waltersee the new envoy set out for England on Thursday last. I take him to be a quiet man and well-affected to the common cause; he has no estate which will make him desirous of continuing in the employment as long as he can. Monsieur Roseneranz is yet without any employment. The Administrator has received the homage from the subjects of the county of Ranzau, notwithstanding Count Eck the Emperor's Minister at Hamburg protested against it. The Court of Vienna shew so much displeasure at these proceedings of Gottorf, in contempt of their authority, that I hope it will serve to moderate the resentments of this Court.

By what my father has written me of his discourse with your honour I understand that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept of my reasons for desiring to be recalled from my post here, which I receive as a great grace and favour.

Your honour was pleased to say further that it should be when the matter of Eutin was brought to an end, which I understand of the present possession, which was a dispute that might breed danger, for as for the negotiation which is to follow, it has no danger in it and will be handled at the Hague, where it may suffer a long discussion. You were pleased to say something to my father about a vacaney, which might happen in some other foreign employment. It would be a great honour to me to be thought capable of any of them; but I know my own defects too well to be solicitous for an employment of much business and difficulty. My desire in leaving this place was to pay my attendance upon His Royal Highness. But if I should receive any other commands from her Majesty, they will meet with entire obedience.

*Docketed.* Received April 22.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, April 24. Copenhagen.—I received yesterday your commands of the 13<sup>th</sup> instant. The same post brought me a letter from Mr. Wych dated from Eutin. He had received the possession of that Castle for the Queen and the States and was going to Gottorf to deliver it to the Administrator. By this the intentions of Denmark are entirely justified. What Gottorf intends I do not pretend to know. It is odd they should begin a new broil by dispossessing a Count of the Empire before the business of Eutin was finished. I have already informed your honour how much this Court is disturbed at it. The King has spoken to me about it, and said he could make no other construction of these violent and unjustifiable proceedings of Gottorf, but that they were put on them by Sweden, who was resolved to force Denmark to a war; that the pretence of Eutin being removed by his compliance, this new way was found out to insult him, and if he should give up Count Ranzau, to whom he was engaged in a Treaty of guaranty, some new provocation

would be given him to put an end to his patience. He said he had directed his Ministers to give me and the Hollands' Minister a plenary information, how he was used in this matter, and what a return was made to the endeavours of the Queen and the States for the preservation of the peace of the North.

We shall hear more of this matter next week. I have informed the King and Prince how much the Queen lays to heart the good success of the negociation for the Prince's recompense with which they are both extremely satisfied. I yesterday delivered my Lord Marlborough's letter to the King and informed him that the Dutch Minister and I should be shortly instructed in what was mentioned in the first part of the Duke's letter, but it was the latter part of it that required a favourable and speedy answer, which might meet the Duke at the Hague. I have seen the King today and find he had doubts about the separating of the Danish corps and of their being sent to Italy (which he is told from the Hague is the design). I have endeavoured to satisfy his scruples by assuring him that his troops should be employed no where but in conjunction with the English Corps and that the Duke would have an equal care of their preservation; that the Duke had always shewed so peculiar a regard for the Danish corps as very well deserves an entire confidence from his Majesty and that the Duke would be engaged by it to be still more careful of them. The King has taken till next week to consider of it. I hope then to get an answer, as the Duke desires. In the meanwhile I am in the dark what it is hinders the States from sending the instructions to their Ministers for the new regulations.

Enclosed are two letters from Mrs. Shaftoe, one of them is written by a daughter of Lady Ogelby's, who is in France. Mrs. Shaftoe's letter has again the story of Lady Ogelthorp's newborn child, which was sent to the late Queen, and which she believes to be the same that now acts the King of England.

Madame Meyernerone is gone for France. I hope she will keep her promise. She has received 100 crowns for that use. She goes to fetch away her husband, who is too infirm for business. A secretary will be sent from hence to supply his place.

Count Ranzau is arrived here this morning to solicit his affair. The intimacy between Poussin and the Secretary of Holstein continues in the same manner. I wish France be not too much consulted by that Court, and by their Director, Sweden.

I receive it as a great favour that you are pleased to have my concerns so much in your thoughts, you may dispose of me and I will not think of stirring till you judge it convenient. It may be of use to the service to have my successor here sometime before my departure I shall faithfully give him what information and assistance I can, for facilitating his negotiations. I was so sensible of the want of such help at my first arrival here that I believe he will be glad to meet with it.

## JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>April 6</sup><sub>March 26.</sub> Copenhagen.—I received yesterday your commands of the  $\frac{7}{15}$  March, and the same evening I obtained an audience of his Danish Majesty and acquainted him with the Queen's entire satisfaction in the mark he had given her of his friendship by complying with her request concerning the possession of Eutin. I told him, the Queen had made particular reflection upon those points which he had enjoined me to lay before her, that as to the satisfaction of Prince Charles the Queen had ordered me to assure him that she would lay that matter to heart, and as to the security of His Majesty and his dominions, she ordered me to say, that his Majesty's interest and welfare were very dear to her, and that when occasion should require it, he might rely upon being assisted by her, not only as an Ally to whom she was bound by Treaties, but as a real friend, for whom she would do more than she was engaged to, even to the extent of her power. I gave the King to understand that her Majesty would write to him as soon as the gout would let her hold a pen. The King had been prepared by letters from England for my compliments and was in the best of humours possible. He said he was very glad the Queen had understood him so rightly, that his meaning was to give the Queen an instance of particular friendship and respect for her; he was pleased to say that he observed I had been just to him in my relations into England, and took it as a mark of my well wishing to his affairs and thanked me for it. I went from him to Prince Charles to make him the compliment from the Queen, which he received as he always does whatever comes from her Majesty, with the greatest respect and confidence in her Majesty's goodness for him. Of this side matters are so prepared that nobody is left at Eutin, but a few mean servants who will retire at the first notice, so that I hope to leave shortly that the Administrator is very quietly in his possession.

Our Ministers begin to shew themselves reconciled to a resolution, they see no means of recalling, and the good old Chancellor is come back to his natural channel which always leads him, when he is not violently diverted by others, to be a friend of the Allies.

The Minister of Holland is engaged in a new squabble. While I was last in England, his baggage was stopped by the Custom house at the entrance of the gate for which violation of his privilege he has ever since solicited a satisfaction, but instead of that they have put a new hardship upon him, by obliging him to open a packet of letters before an officer of the Custom house upon suspicion of its covering jewels. He has made bitter complaints of this new breach of privilege, which indeed seems to have been intended to chagrin him; the packet not being very large and having only gazettes in it. The Queen here is three months gone with child, the King shows so much concern for the good success of her belly, that it is thought it



may hinder him from taking his usual progress this summer. My poor services are much obliged to your Honour for your so favourable representation of them to her Majesty, the success of this negotiation is entirely owing to that blessing which is upon all her Majesty's undertakings for the good of Europe and your honour by whose directions this has been carried on does me too much honour for only having followed your instructions. I shall be very much unconcerned at any difficulties I may meet with here, as long as I have Her Majesty's gracious protection to depend on; but I have so many reasons for wishing to be recalled, that I must beg your assistance in it, as soon as may consist with the good of the service, to which I am otherwise ready to sacrifice all my private desire.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received April 20. Twenty-five days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, April  $\frac{17}{6}$ . Copenhagen.—I received yesterday your commands of the 2nd instant N.S. and have delivered the enclosed letters from her Majesty to the King of Denmark and to his brother. The King has been since in devotion, and I have heard nothing of him, but I hear Prince Charles is extremely pleased with that mark of her Majesty's goodness for him.

I have received at the same time a letter from his Grace the Duke of Marlborough for his Danish Majesty, which relating to the resolution taken for introducing better discipline among the Danish troops and that being a matter I am to press jointly, with the Minister of the States, who does not expect his orders till after tomorrow, I have deferred delivering his Grace's letter till then. The alarm has been already given, as if by these regulations it were intended to deprive the Danish troops of the immunity reserved to them in the Treaties, but I have compared with some care, the Treaty and Regulations together, and hope to satisfy them that they are not contradictory, and are necessary for the good conduct of the army. In what my Lord Duke desires as to the disposal of the troops upon any sudden expedition, there will be less difficulty, there being no pretence to dispute it.

What the Dutch Minister had to negotiate separately from me at our last audience related to the Danish troops, who, receiving no pay from the provinces of Groening and Zealand declared that for want of it they should be in no condition to serve this campaign. The States remonstrated to the King that what was due was but a small part of what had been paid to those troops, and therefore desired the King not to encourage them in their refractoriness; the Dutch Minister received but a very dry answer, but I am since informed by the Chancellor, that the King had ordered the troops to make the best shift to be in readiness, notwithstanding that arrear. This abuse of troops in our pay receiving orders from hence, will be in great

measure remedied by the new regulations which brings the Danish officers into the dependence they ought to have upon the general in chief.

At Eutin everything is ready for the evacuation, and I wish to hear Mr. Wyeh has been there. But now this danger is over there is another rising to disturb our peace by the Administrators seizing the County of Ranzau. Mr. Wyeh will have informed you of the particulars of that affair. It is my part to acquaint your honour how much it is resented here. This County is so situated that in case of rupture, it may serve to intercept from Denmark the communication with the Elbe, and upon very slender pretences the Administrator has put troops into it. They say here he has done it by direction from Sweden, whose intention it is, right or wrong, to pick a quarrel which may oblige their King to come out of Poland into Holstein, so that they get nothing by their complying, but to draw on more injuries, but if the Allies desire that peace should continue in the North, they must use their persuasion to Sweden who is for breaking of it.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received April 20. Fourteen days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>May 1</sup>/<sub>April 20.</sub> Copenhagen.—In my last I informed your honour that the King had spoken to me with great concern about what had happened to Count Ranzau and that I expected to hear more of it from the Ministers. Monsieur Goes and I were sent to on Wednesday last to confer with them upon that subject. They shewed us the deed by which the lands in question were sold to Count Ranzau by the Duke of Holstein, which was complete and perfect as any instrument of that kind can be and all the exceptions that can be alleged expressly provided against. Moreover signed and confirmed by all the relations of the Duke of Holstein then living and among the rest by the King of Denmark, who gave a separate act of guaranty for the said alienation to the Counts of Rantzau, which was likewise shewed us, and the Emperor's approbation of the whole, and his patent for erecting the said lands into an immediate County of the Empire, conferring upon it all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by any other Count in the Empire, and particularly the vote and session in the General Diet and in the Diet of the Circle of Saxony; all which privileges have been enjoyed by them, without any contradiction from the House of Gottorf ever since the day of the erection, which is now fifty-six years ago; the Court of Gottorf having alleged that these lands were not alienable by the Duke because they were enjoyed by him, in trust for his heirs by a virtue of an universal Fidei Commissum instituted by the Duke his father. The falseness of this argument was evinced by showing that these lands were not included in that Fidei Commissum, they having

been purchased by Duke Frederick in the year 1640, which was after the death of his father, and consequently he was free to dispose of them as he thought fit. They likewise shewed us an article in the Emperor's patent by which all the Princes and magistrates in the Empire are summoned to be assisting to Count Ranzau to maintain him in the free use of all his rights by force of arms against any invader. They told us that by virtue of this article and by their guaranty they were obliged to enable the Count to repulse the invasion of the Administrator, but to convince the whole world of their desire of preserving the peace of that circle they deferred it, in hopes that the Allies, who are likewise so much concerned for the preservation of the peace and particularly the Queen and States, to whom the Administrator had such fresh obligations, would persuade him to desist from his turbulent and illegal proceedings, for in point of interest and honour they could not abandon the County of Ranzau to the Duke of Gottorf, and this we were desired to write for the information of her Majesty and the States. Your honour will further understand what stress they lay upon this matter by the enclosed copy of the King's letter to the Duke of Marlborough in answer to that I delivered to him from his Grace. This letter was despatched last post, but they would give me no copy of it till to-day that I might not teaze them about it.

Your honour will observe that the difficulties are all founded upon these enterprises of Gottorf, and though some good words from the Duke may remove them, yet we have little obligation to the Court of Gottorf for being the cause of such obstructions to the public service. Mr. Wych has sent me a paper containing the reasons which have obliged Gottorf to this enterprise. I enclose it here, though you may have already received it, that I may observe to your honour how little reason there is in it. They call a county, acknowledged as such by the whole empire for fifty-six years past, a pretended county: they say they have taken possession without violence, when everybody knows it was with the help of two companies of Grenadiers and that the Imperial notary who was sent to hinder it was detained in arrest by those Grenadiers from doing his duty; they say it was with the consent of the peasants, as if they had a right to dispose of their Master's lands or durst contradict soldiers! They say the County is situate in the Empire and under its jurisdiction, which is the argument against them; the laws of the Empire and of all civilized governments being made to prevent such violences as Gottorf has been guilty of, and to oblige the parties to bring their pleas into the Courts of justice, and to expect their award; they say they desire to be heard in those Courts, but what sentence can they expect there, but to restore the Count according to the rule in law. *Spoliatus ante omnia Restituendus*; they end their argument with accusing the Count of turbulence because



he desires his own again, which is the wolves' argument for eating the sheep.

*Docketed.* Received April 29.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>May 4</sup><sub>April 23</sub>. Copenhagen.—Since my last by which I sent you the King's letter to the Duke of Marlborough, I have been informed by the Chancellor and by the Secretary of War, that an order is sent to the Danish General, Duke of Wirtemberg, to comply with all my Lord's desires, and to have his corps in a readiness to march wherever they are commanded; it is odd the King should write a denial to my Lord Duke, and at the same time send an order to his General to comply. This is the effect of a divided Council, where difference of opinion does every day produce resolutions contradictory to each other and the most reasonable things cannot be obtained without a struggle. The letter was written by the advice of our constant adversary and the orders were procured by those who think a good intelligence with her Majesty necessary to this Crown. But without any such order in my humble opinion, the Duke is entirely the master of commanding the Danish Corps where he thinks fit and in what manner; and the Treaty of 1701 makes no provision against their being separate, if the general pleases. As for the business of Ranzau, I persuade them here to leave it to the course of justice and to expect the Imperial mandate for the restitution of the Count, which I have ventured to tell them cannot fail in so clear a case, in which Gottorf will not be maintained and if Sweden should intend a rupture with Denmark, there are more efficacious ways to secure them than the depriving the Allies of the present use of their troops; and if I am not mistaken, what I have said upon that head has satisfied the King. Of the other side, I hope the Administrator may be persuaded to abandon an enterprise palpably unjust. Count Ranzau has presented two memorials to desire the King's assistance to recover his county but has yet received no answer.

Monsieur Roseneranz will be provided with a presidency in a Court of Justice which may be worth 1500 crowns a year salary.

*Docketed.* Received May 8. Fifteen days.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1706, May <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>. Whitehall.—I have received from the Swedish Minister here an account of the difference about the County of Rantzau much different from what I hear from other places by the next post I will send you an extract of it that you may inform me how his state of it agrees with the fact.

We are in expectation of letters at this critical juncture in hopes of hearing good news from Spain. I hope the Queen's letter will have good effect with his Danish Majesty and that

next week we shall hear the compensation for Prince Charles is in a good forwardness of being agreed at the Hague.

I do not understand what makes the Danish envoy at Berlin refuse complying with that ceremonial as to Lord Raby which was established by King Charles II and if I mistake not at the instance of the King of Denmark. Upon your desire to be recalled the Queen hath thought fit to appoint young Mr. Pulteney to succeed you: I shall endeavour to prepare your letter of revocation and to hasten Mr. Pulteney that he may have the benefit of your information before you leave that court.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, May  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Copenhagen.—Things being quiet here in expectation of what the negociation at the Hague will produce I have had no occasion for troubling your honour since the 4th instant, but have now your commands of the  $\frac{20}{9}$  April to acknowledge and must again repeat my humble acknowledgements for your kindness to me in designing I should continue here till this negociation is finished; and your honour is already informed of my readiness to comply with all the demands I shall receive from you and no other consideration will weigh so much with me as the desire of your approbation.

They are very well satisfied here that the Duke of Marlborough has told their Minister at the Hague that he would write about the affair of Ranzau to the Queen and would employ his good offices in other places for quieting of that disturbance.

Poussin reports here with great confidence that a truce is concluded between the Czar and the King of Sweden by the mediation of France. Monsieur Tessen, the Danish Minister has written the same thing from Dantzic: I believe they both have it from the same author—Monsieur Bonac the French Minister in Poland.

Monsieur Meyernerone leaves France this summer. Nobody is yet named to succeed him. Whoever is pitched upon will have no other character but that of secretary. The Prussian envoy takes his audience of leave upon Monday next, he is ordered to leave his secretary to do the business till another Minister can be sent.

Monsieur Rosencranz is made President of the Court of Justice for the King's household which is here called *Hoff-gewehr* with a salary of 400*l.* sterling a year.

P.S. This court removes to Fredericksburg on Tuesday next. There is no certainty of a progress this year into Holstein.

*Docketed.* Received May 17.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, May  $\frac{2}{4}$ . Fredericksburgh.—I have received your commands of the 7 and 14 instant and I delivered yesterday he

Majesty's letters to the King whose thoughts upon it I have not yet had an occasion of learning, but he has all the occasion in the world of being very well satisfied. As for the troops being allowed to follow the Duke wherever he pleases to use them I informed your honour by my letter of the 4th instant, that orders were sent to the Duke of Wirtemberg to follow what directions the Duke of Marlborough should give him, and I hear from his Grace that the Duke of Wirtemberg has accordingly declared himself ready to follow him.

Here is now nothing said of the business of Ranzau ; they are soliciting at Vienna for a Mandate of Restitution, and are now in expectation of the success of those solicitations, and what your honour observes is true, that they have been dissatisfied at the conduct of that Count, who is a simple creature, for whom they are not in the least concerned, but for the accession of his lands (which are intermixed with the King's) to the Duke of Gottorf, besides that, there is a will of the last Count, by which the King of Denmark is instituted his universal heir, in failure of the heirs of his body ; which is a failure that may easily happen, there being none of the family living but the Count and a weakly brother ; and neither of them married. The King removed hither in the last week from Copenhagen ; the day before his departure the Prussian envoy Vireek took his audience of leave of the King and Royal family, the Queen Consort excepted, who excused herself from seeing him upon account of indisposition which did not hinder her Majesty from travelling the next day, and made it plain that it was her resentment against him and his family for the trouble they have given her ; as it is to that same resentment which he owes his revocation from hence much against his will.

I hope the disputes between my Lord Raby and the Danish envoy are now at an end ; he has had reiterated orders from hence to recede from his pretensions which are looked upon here as effects of personal pique, and what has made him the more presuming is the credit of his countrymen the Holsteiners.

Endeavours have been used with the King to dissuade his progress into Holstein, as if it were not honourable for him to go thither, unless he resolved to resent the affronts, as they call it, that are put upon him by the House of Gottorf ; but those insinuations have not had their effect, since I hear the King resolves to take his usual progress as soon as the Militia can get their new clothing which may be about the middle of July.

It would be very happy for me if I could receive my letters of revocation in time to receive my audiences before the King takes his progress, for I might then take my final leave of Copenhagen and follow his Majesty into Holstein without any addition of trouble or expense, and if I do not see my successor at Copenhagen I should be then sure of meeting him in Holstein and before that time it is presumable the recompense of Prince Charles will be adjusted at the Hague. These are private



considerations which I entirely submit to your honour's goodness and wisdom.

*Docketed.* Received May 25.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>June 1</sup><sub>May 21</sub>. Copenhagen.—Two following posts has brought us such great news from Spain and Flanders that your honour must allow me to neglect every thing else to express my joy upon this great occasion and to congratulate with you over that wonderful providence and blessing of God upon all her Majesty's undertakings. That the French should be so faint-hearted in the Mediteranean as to fly before they saw their enemy, and in Braband should be so rash as to quit their lines, when there was no occasion for it, seems wonderfull, but they are not the first wonders we have seen since her Majesty's happy Accession. God grant that her Majesty's reign may be as long as it is glorious, that her victories and years may be numberless ! These successes are applauded by the generality of this country and silences the rest and I hope will everywhere have the good effect of making people firm to their engagements against France and admit of no proposal of partitions, which the creatures of France have of late been very full of.

The Court is still at Fredericsburg and will continue there this whole summer, the King was in town on Saturday last to review his guards, and to see a ship launched of 74 guns called the *Vandale*, he returned the same night to Fredericsburg. I need not tell your honour how acceptable the Queen's letter has been with the King, which you will understand by his Majesty's answer for I don't think the whole Paper Office of Denmark can afford anything more obliging and complaisant. I hear of no progress in the affair of Prince Charles. Here has been a proposal started here by people who are no well-wishers that the recompence for Prince Charles should be by a sum of money and not by a pension ; but this proposal is not approved by the Prince, nor was he ever consulted in it, so that it deserves no notice, though the meaning may be very well understood.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>June 5</sup><sub>May 25</sub>. Copenhagen.—I was yesterday at Fredericsburg, where his Danish Majesty was pleased to express to me the great part he took in the signal victory obtained over the French by the Duke of Marlborough and I congratulated his Majesty upon the glory his troops had acquired in that action. From that his Majesty turned the discourse to the business of Eutin and said he was extremely obliged by the concern the Queen had shown for the securing of a recompence to his brother, and that he hoped Her Majesty would continue it till the affair was ended, which met with difficulties and delays at the Hague. He desired to know of me whether it was the Queen's intention,

that in receiving this recompence his brother should renounce all his pretensions to the Bishopric for ever. My answer to this was that I was not informed of what passed in the present negotiation at the Hague, but what orders I had received from her Majesty made no mention of any such renunciation and that I had always understood the recompense to be intended for the loss of the possession, which the Prince had parted with, at the Queen's intercession, for the sake of the public. The King said no more, but I found by others that they are not pleased with the proceedings of the States in this business, and the Prince is apprehensive that it will come to nothing if her Majesty does not put new life into it by a more express declaration of her intentions and he has desired me to acquaint her Majesty that he will accept of any recompense in the proportion and manner her Majesty shall think fit to determine ; and he believes that if the Queen would make such a determination the States would not refuse to conform to it. The difficulty with him is not the renouncing the claim to the bishopric for himself, the hopes of which he has already in great measure renounced, but abandoning the Chapter in their pretensions to a free election for the future, which he would not have prejudiced by his present renunciation. As for the *Quantum* of the recompence, they hope it will not be less than the revenues of the bishopric, since besides its revenue it makes the possessor of it an immediate Prince of the Empire. Your honour will be pleased to remember, that when Monsieur Goes and I were instructed to inform ourselves of this Court what method they would like best for making up this difference they choose the way of negotiation and therefore cannot now appeal to the Emperor's decision. What they proposed to themselves by this negotiation is that Prince Charles in consideration of his renouncing the bishopric should enjoy a pension from the Queen and States, for his lifetime, and that the Chapter after the death of the Administrator should be free to elect a bishop out of the family of Denmark if they pleased : and, if this be the determination, both parties may reckon themselves obliged by it, since it is the Queen's money that secures the Administrator in his present possession and acquires to the family of Denmark a possibility of providing their younger children with that bishopric for the future. But if her Majesty would not oblige herself to pay a pension during the life of Prince Charles, it might be made terminable at the decision of the Emperor, to which both parties may be remitted in case the negotiation do not succeed. Monsieur Meyernerone has left the Court of France ill satisfied and without seeing the King, because he had no letter to deliver, the dispute about the title of Majesty having interrupted the correspondence : the natural consequence of this is that Poussin should be forbid the Court here and I hope will end in his being drove away. The Secretary of War has given me to under-

stand that the King should be proud of having one of the enemies' colours sent him as a testimony of the good service of his troops in the late victory.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received June 3. Eight days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>June 8</sup><sub>May 28</sub>. Copenhagen.—I send your honour another letter from the poor girl in France sent to me from MM. Poussin has been informed from France of the design of her escape. How the information came thither I do not pretend to know. This, with the escape of many other poor sufferers for religion, have induced the Court of France to order Madame Meyernerone to depart the Kingdom within fifteen days; which both she and her husband have complied with and now are at Aix la Chapelle, in their return home. This affront put upon their Minister is not yet resented here as it deserves; the friends of France to cover Poussin from the same treatment say that it would do him too much honour to put him in parallel with Monsieur Meyernerone; whereas, if their logic was not corrupted by partiality, they ought to argue *a fortiori* that since their Minister has been so treated in France, such a fellow as Poussin should be treated worse and have but twenty-four hours left him to depart the Kingdom. I shall know more of this matter next time I go to the Court, in the meanwhile I understand that the King has altered the time of the progress. He begins it the latter end of this month and goes directly into Holstein and returns from there to review the Militia in Jutland who will have their new clothing ready against that time. The King will be five weeks out. I shall not follow him unless I have your honour's directions. The States have written to the King to notify the victory obtained in Brabant.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received 10 June. Thirteen days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, June  $\frac{1}{4}$ . Copenhagen.—This is to inform your honour that his Danish Majesty has this day begun his progress to Holstein and Jutland contrary to the expectation of the whole Court who did not think it would be so suddenly resolved on. The King came to town on Sunday last to take leave of the Queen Mother and notice was not till then given to those who are appointed to follow him. I can give your honour no reason for this affectation of secrecy but the King's humour. He goes directly to Gluestad where he will be in four days but makes no long stay being expected in the north of Jutland the 3rd of July and back again at Fridericsburg by the 15th of the same month, so that this is every way a precipitate journey. I was yesterday to take my leave of his Majesty; he asked me whether I followed in the progress but I excused it upon want



of orders. The Privy Councillors named to follow the King are Messieurs Lenth, Ahlefeld and Bluhme, the two Secretaries of State, and Monsieur Guldenlew, who travels in the chariot with the King. Prince Charles stays behind with the Queen Consort and the Prince at Frideriesburg. The Queen Mother goes from hence next week to her estate in Jutland and is to entertain the King there upon the 3rd of July. The Chancellor and Monsieur Crabb have leave to go upon their estates; the Foreign Ministers all stay behind and I shall wait for his Majesty's return in this town, which is now a very empty one. Monsieur Meyernerone and his family are now out of France and very ill satisfied with his treatment. This Court is not insensible to the affront, but are deterred from resenting it by an apprehension of bringing an inconvenience upon their trade to France which might impair the King's revenues, and might make the Swedes and Hollanders sole masters of the French commerce. By this argument the King has been persuaded not to send away Poussin, but is howsoever so much dissatisfied with France, that it would be a very right time to make him any proposal that might be to the disadvantage of that insolent Court.

*Docketed.* Received 14 June. Ten days.

#### ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1706, June 21. Whitehall.—I wrote to you by last post when I sent your instrument of Revocation and other necessary letters, so that I have the less left to say now. I received yesterday the favor of your letter of June 8. I am sorry Madame Meyernerone has no better success in delivering Mrs. Shaftoe, though by her own letter she seems to have a prospect of coming away soon. I shall repay the 100 crowns you advanced to Madame Meyernerone wherever you please to receive it. I believe the Queen will write to his Danish Majesty upon the occasion of the late victory and the good service his troops did by the next post. Her Majesty having left it to you to come away when you see good, you are to leave your secretary or some proper person who may hold correspondence with England until Mr. Pulteney shall arrive there.

This post I have written by the Queen's command to Mr. Stanhope to propose at the Hague that her Majesty is willing to give Prince Charles 4000*l.* a year for her two thirds of the recompence to that Prince for Eutin in case the State will pay their one third proportionable to this her Majesty's offer.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, June 21. Copenhagen.—Your commands of the 4 and 8 inst. came to my hands after the departure of the King. I have informed him by letter what my orders were. I have spoken with the Prince about the obstructions which are given

to the negotiation about his recompence and have disposed him to remove them as much as lies in his power, which he will do by writing to the King that he thinks it his interest to secure to himself the Queen's liberality by a renunciation to the bishoprick and not to run the danger of losing of it by uncertain and intricate negociations, about the rights of the Chapter, which may be otherwise pursued than by depriving him of the good effects of the Queen's intentions. In all probability the King will not disapprove of this motion and then the Chapter must be remitted to Vienna to pursue their demands, if they think fit, and a speedy conclusion may be put to the negotiation in favour of the Prince, which will be a great satisfaction to the whole Royal family, and what will very much confirm them in their devotion to her Majesty's interests.

The affair of Rantzau is now in that posture that I apprehend no disturbance from it: it has been before the Cour Aulique who have privately made a Resolution for restoring the Count, but they must have the Emperor's leave to publish it, who will take his own time: on the other side, the Administrator, who fears this publication has offered the Count 60,000 dollars more for the Alienation, which is a powerful lure for so covetous a creature. Matters standing on these terms of accommodation one way or other, it is not probable the Danes should use force to restore the Count, nor could I ever perceive they had any inclination to it.

Queen Mother is gone today for Jutland. The King meets her there on 3rd July New Style, and we expect his Majesty back again in this island on 11 July.

By the favour of your last I understand that her Majesty is graciously pleased to allow of my speedy return to her presence. I shall make use of that permission with joy, as soon as I have received Her Majesty's letters of revocation and can take my audiences of leave: in the meanwhile your honour will allow me to press that the negotiation for Prince Charles may be so well forwarded that when he sees me going he may not fall into a mistrust of the performanee of what has been promised him.

I had written to my father that, in case your honour should enquire after a person for carrying on the correspondence in the interval between my departure and the arrival of my successor, that he should propose Mr. Lesserr. Your honour requires my sentiments. I can think of nothing more for her Majesty's service than to have him engaged for a correspondent, for he is a very intelligent and industrious man, and nobody better acquainted with the affairs of this country, where he has long served under Monsieur Pless, when he was a chief manager here, and this commission naturally falls to him as being already a servant of his Royal Highness, who I believe is well satisfied with him, and as for any character or recompence from the Queen, for his trouble in corresponding that will be entirely left to your honour's judgment and disposal.

If I did not apprehend the dilatoriness of a convoy, I should choose to return by sea and should desire your honour's assistance for an order to one of H.M. Frigates to take me in; but in case I return by land I hope your honour will use me for any service that I am capable of either in Germany or Holland.

*Docketed.* Received June 24.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1706, <sup>July 9</sup><sub>June 28.</sub> Whitehall.—I doubt not but you have received your Revocation and the letters for the King &c. upon that occasion. You are certainly in the right, that it will not look well to leave this affair of Prince Charles his compensation liable to any manner of misconstruction or that it should be thought the Queen is not as warm in it as ever. To obviate any such suggestion I can assure you that I never fail twice a week to put Mr. Stanhope in mind to press the Pensionary upon this subject and you will see by my former letters that the Queen hath declared herself ready to give 4000*l.* a year and excites them to add their 2000*l.* I will urge the dispatch of this affair by this night's post, and also write to my Lord Duke to add his weight to quicken the States to come to a conclusion. Mr. Pulteney speaks of meeting you somewhere upon the road, but I must leave it to him to adjust that matter with you, by letter, because it is impossible for me to know what is for your convenience. I hope the Queen's letter for the King of Denmark upon the late victory will come to your hands in good time for you to deliver it upon the King's return.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>July 6</sup><sub>June 25.</sub> Copenhagen.—I have received your commands of the <sup>15</sup><sub>4</sub> and <sup>22</sup><sub>11</sub> June, together with my letters of revocation and do most humbly acknowledge the favor done me by the honorable expressions contained in them. I cannot make use of them before the return of the King which is expected very suddenly: he dined on Saturday last with the Queen Mother in the extremity of Jutland, and this day he was to dine out the Chancellor's in his return hither, so that we expect him some day this week; and I hope within a week after to be upon my return to England. We don't hear that anything has been done during this progress in favour of Count Ranzau. The Directors of the Circle have sent some soldiers into the county to keep it in sequestration till the suit be decided at Vienna, where the dispositions are favourable for the Count, and this will dispense this Court from further meddling in that matter.

We hear of changes in this Court, but without certainty. It is said that Monsieur Ahlefeld, the President of the Chamber, quits and will return no more to Copenhagen: Monsieur Holst, Governor to the Prince, and Meyernerone, are the people named



to succeed him. Eichsted, first gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Plaken the Marshal, are both reported to be out of favour, which would be all weakenings to the Holstein faction.

Prince Charles has written, as I have already informed your honour, for the King's consent for accepting of the Queen's generosity and renouncing his pretensions to the bishoprick. He has yesterday received a favourable answer from the King, who says Amen ! to all that was proposed, so that this difficulty will not retard the negotiation at the Hague. I have acquainted the Prince with the declaration which Mr. Stanhope is to make in his favour to the States, for which he has desired me to make his most thankful acknowledgments to her Majesty for her goodness, with professions of a gratitude and devotion to her Majesty's service which shall never end but with his life. Having some leisure in the absence of the Court I have made use of it to visit the neighbouring County of Schonen, and I took with me the Swedish Secretary for my conductor. I was four days rambling in that country where I everywhere met with the marks of a profound poverty, and of hearty desires to see an end of that ruinous war in Poland. I observed the better sort of people possessed with strange apprehensions that the success of the Allies may turn to the disadvantage of Sweden and that there was no good intended them by England ; these are impressions they receive from the French, in which Monsieur Poussin is no inactive instrument, he was got into Schonen almost as soon as I, to give himself, as I suppose, the din of countermining my projects ; and the Secretary of Holstein had the impertinence to be his companion. But I did not meet them because they made no stay in the country. At Malmoe, which is the capital, I was entertained with great civility by the vice-governor of the Province ; and I was invited by the Master of the Ceremonies to an estate he has in that country, but I excused it, it being at a distance. In obedience to your commands I shall leave my Chaplain here to correspond with the office till Mr. Pulteney's arrival, and I do not doubt but he will acquit himself very well, but I was not forward to propose him, because his profession calls him to another work. I shall leave with him what will be necessary for his subsistence.

Since it appears to your honour convenient that I should pass through Hanover, I shall make that my way home and shall be very careful of improving any opportunity that may offer itself of setting forth the great care and marks of kindness her Majesty has shown for that family, which indeed cannot be greater nor never enough acknowledged. I may happen to arrive there in a very remarkable time, at the consummating the Alliance between those two potent families of Brandenburg and Lunenburg. This is looked upon as a very formidable conjuncture by all the neighbouring princes, who are sensible that as long as they continue united they will give the sway to the whole Lower Germany. I believe its first effect will be in

this Court to induce them to acknowledge the Elector's title, which they have hitherto refused to do.

P.S. Mr. Welby will call upon your honour's servants for the 100 crowns.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, July  $\frac{17}{6}$ . Fridericsburg.—The King returned from his progress on Tuesday last to this place. I waited upon him on Wednesday and delivered her Majesty's letter of felicitation, which was a compliment very well taken. Queen Mother is likewise returned from Jutland and I have delivered to her, her Majesty's letter of condolence. Monday next is the day appointed for my public audience of leave which is the occasion of my being now at Fridericsburg. I hope on Wednesday next to begin my journey.

P.S. His Royal Highness has been pleased to order his Secretary, Monsieur Lesser to be assistant to my chaplain and I have already introduced him where necessary.

*Docketed.* Received July 18. Twelve days.

JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, July  $\frac{29}{9}$ . Copenhagen.—This is the last letter I shall have the honour of writing you from Copenhagen. I yesterday took my audiences of leave of all the Royal family, which passed in the usual forms of ceremony and compliments, with expressions of great respect and friendship for her Majesty and his Royal Highness, and I have had civilities showed to myself which I have no pretence to from any other quality but of being the servant of so great a Queen.

I am now in this town to wait upon the Queen Mother, and the time is appointed me for this evening: when that is over I shall put myself in my calesh and make the best of my way home. I have acquainted his Danish Majesty with my designing to pass through Hanover: and, as I expected, the King desired me to let the Elector know that he was entirely disposed to live in a perfect good correspondence with him, and has since sent me word by the Secretary of State, that if the Elector will write to him upon occasion of the marriage of his daughter with the Prince of Prussia he will receive the letter and will give the Elector his titles in the answer, which will raise the great difficulty that obstructed the correspondence between the Courts and I hope may end in restoring the ancient amity between the two houses. We have reports from the Sound that the convoy from the River is arrived in Norway. The Dunkirk Squadron was gone in quest of the Dutch East India ships—they say they are eight tall ships.

P.S. With my re-credentials I shall have a letter in answer to the Queen's notification of the victory of Ramilly with which they have been exceedingly pleased.

*Docketed.* Received July 22. Thirteen days.

## CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, July 24. Copenhagen.—Mr. Vernon left this place the 21st and hath ordered me to stay here to give an account of what passeth at this Court till the arrival of Mr. Pulteney. I don't presume to write to Mr. Secretary, having nothing to relate worthy of his knowledge, but I shall take the liberty from time to time to write to you the occurrences of this place according to the best of my capacity and information. Mr. Vernon hath no doubt given Mr. Secretary an account of his audience and reception at his taking his leave. An hour after he was gone the King sent the Marshal of the Court to visit him and he brought with him a second present and a compliment from his Majesty (for he had received one before from the Master of the Ceremonies in the usual manner); but he being gone, the Marshal sends it by the post to Hamburg to be delivered there to him by the Resident. His dismissal from this Court hath been as honourable and handsome as it could be.

The Envoy of Holland accompanied Mr. Vernon in his journey, he having obtained permission to go thither upon his private affairs, so that now here is no Minister of the Allies, except the Emperor's Resident; but, if anything extraordinary should occur, Mr. Goes hath promised to take post and come hither upon the first notice. The Court is removed from Fredericsburg to Yegersbourg a house nearer the town. Upon the departure of the two Envoys, Poussin took courage to appear there. He talked sometime with Monsieur Lent, a Privy Councillor. The subject of their discourse was about sending some Minister to France in the place of Monsieur Meyereroon. Monsieur Lent told him, he wondered how the Court of France could expect any Minister from hence after they had used Monsieur Meyereroon so ill. Poussin answered, that all that was occasioned by his lady's meddling in affairs of religion. To that it was replied that, if she had done so, it was a matter to be complained of to the King of Denmark, who would have taken care to keep his servants within the bounds of their duty: Monsieur Lent added that what he said to him he said from himself and not in the name of the King. It doth not yet appear that they have any design to resent this usage of their Minister upon Poussin, but he hath introduced himself to Court afresh and is as bold and busy as ever he was, and will be much more so, now there is nobody to oppose him. The Emperor's Resident received yesterday a copy of the Imperial Mandate to the Circle of Lower Saxony to restore Count Ranzau to the possession of his County, which requires that he be reinstated within two months. The Count hath been at Wolfenbuttel and was well satisfied with the reception the Duke gave him. But the County being sequestered, there must be an Imperial Act to annul that



sequestration, before the mandate can be executed and this is what the Count solicits this Court to procure from Vienna.

Monsieur Ahlefeldt, the Treasurer, is arrived from Holstein, and the Chanceller and Monsieur Blome are soon expected. When they arrive 'tis to be hoped the Emperor's Resident will speak plainly about the affair of Monsieur Meyercroon. We are in pain for the English convoy which is not yet arrived, having certain intelligence of eight French men of war lying two leagues to the east of the Naze of Norway.

An English seaman named John Horn is arrived here in the East Indian ship that is lately come home: he was taken up upon the Island of Aseension beyond the line where he had been left ashore by the *Kingsfisher*, one of the Queen's ships. He lived there eight months upon raw flesh, and the blood of fowls. The island hath no inhabitants; there are no beasts but goats; and it produeth no herbs. I shall furnish him with necessaries and send him home.

Monsieur Plessen stays yet two months in Meeklenburg to adjust the differences between the Duke and the nobility of that country.

*Docketed.* Mr. Vernon, chaplain, July  $\frac{24}{11}$ , 1706. Received 22.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, July  $\frac{27}{16}$ . Hamburg.—I arrived here last night. Before I left Copenhagen I received my ordinary present of 1200 crowns. My re-credentials not being ready I received them today by the post, with a congratulatory letter for her Majesty, which is here inclosed. I have at the same time a letter from the Marshal of the Court, who makes me a very obliging compliment from the King and lets me know that he sends by me a curious parcel of medals for the Queen, and as a mark of his Royal favour has sent some medals of gold for myself. The medals are already in town and I am to receive them tomorrow. From Prince Charles I have had a purse of 500 dueats in gold.

Since my arrival here I have received your commands of the 5th instant. Since the Queen's declaration to the States, Prince Charles has no room left for doubting of her Majesty's intentions, and I have left him in an entire dependence on them.

I hear nothing of Mr. Pultney's intention to meet me upon the way and therefore reckon upon finding him in England where I hope to be in less than three weeks.

*Docketed.* Received July 22.

#### CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, July  $\frac{27}{16}$ . Copenhagen. The Queen's letter which was written to the King to compliment his Majesty upon the valour of his troops at the battle of Ramilly, hath been received with great approbation as being a piece perfect in its kind; as indeed it is. Many have attempted to write an answer to

it, but I have seen none but that which was written by some clerk of the Chancery and was signed by the King to be sent to her Majesty. The Secretary of State hath sent a copy of it to Mr. Vernon, and I send you the same copy I received from the Chancery, submitting to your judgment, whether the Danes can as well imitate the style, as they have done the valour of our nation. But it must be remembered that this people were never a member of the Roman Empire.

Poussin continues to come to Court and to accost the Ministers in the same rude manner he hath done before, justifying the conduct of the French Court in regard to Monsieur Meyercroon, and adding complaints of the injuries and affronts he hath received here himself.

They make no mystery of this conversation and pretend to relate all that passed between them the very moment they have done talking with him, which one of them did to me yesterday before his face. I made very little answer, it being not fit for me to tell them they should not suffer the King's honour to be thus diminished, nor themselves to be insulted. But lest such conferences should have any ill effect, I have told it to one, who will tell the King all the particulars; which method, as it seems the most secure, so it makes the least noise. What gives the greatest suspicion of this commeree is, that the Ministers will scarce suffer anyone else to talk with them about real business, and yet patiently endure from this man all the indignities imaginable. They pretend that the trade of France is highly beneficial to this country, which might be interrupted upon any disgust they might give that Court, though it hath always been found to be a loss to them, and now wholly ceaseth, the trade with Holland and France being open. They have been amused also this two years with offers of an advantageous treaty of commerce, which hath been the engine the partisans have always played against the Allies but the King himself hath expressed himself tired with those proposals, which he found were impracticable and could never take effect. I shall endeavour to discover the reason of their proceeding as far as I am capable. Colonel Chaise who was last year in England is made Brigadier and two other Colonels who are in Flanders are advanced to the same post.

#### JAMES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, <sup>August 10</sup><sub>July 30.</sub> Hague.—I arrived here on Saturday last from Hanover. I stayed there three days and left that Court in a disposition of renewing their correspondence with that of Denmark, for which they will take the occasion of the marriage of the Princess, which they will notify to that King, who in the answer will give the Elector his titles. I find the affair of Prince Charles in no great forwardness here, unless some resolution has been taken at the Assembly of the States this day, but by what I can observe there is no disposition to give in proportion

to what the Queen has proposed. And, to make an end of the matter, I believe the Court of Denmark will accept of whatever these people are willing to give.

The Countess of Essex is arrived here in the *William and Mary* yacht and one of the men of war is come into the Macse. The Captain of the yacht has shown me an order from his Royal Highness to take me on board, so that I do not intend to lose this opportunity of passing the seas. My Lord Halifax is here and ready to embark whenever the wind is fair ; it is very contrary at present and blows hard.

*Docketed.* Received August 3.

#### CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, September 1<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—We received yesterday the five posts which were due from England and I most humbly thank you for all your letters. The Hollands Envoy's lady died on the 10th in his absence. Yesterday, the 11th, was the King's birthday. Everyone made their compliments to his Majesty on that occasion. The Muscovite Ambassador's son made a speech in Dutch in the name of the new Academy. At night there was a great supper, which lasted till one in the morning ; no foreign Minister was invited to it. A Prince of Pleun is come hither who served France the last war in Flanders, where he turned Papist and married a wife of the same religion. His residence has been in Flanders this war but he retired into France upon the late victory, and his lady is now at Paris. He is a "grand" of Spain of the French creation but he thinks fit here to conceal that dignity and makes no difficulty of the ceremonial in waiting upon the King. His pretended business here is to solicit his share of the Duchy of Holstein Pleun in case the young Duke should die, who is but three years old and very weak. The next heir is a son of an elder brother, who in case of the death of the young Duke hath a right to the whole succession, for there is a compact of that family and signed by all the members of it that the eldest branch shall enjoy all. And part of that Duchy is a fief of Denmark and no Papist can inherit here according to the laws of the country. Notwithstanding all this, he dines and sups with the King, visits the Ministers and is very much encouraged by them. 'Tis not doubted but that he hath other business here than what he pretends, but the present conjuncture is not very favourable to his designs.

It is very fit that the story of the French treatment of Monsieur Myercroon should follow that of the Dane's complaisance to their emissaries. As he and his lady were coming from Aix la Chapelle under the conduct of forty horse, they were attacked by a party of French of two hundred, who killed seven of the guard, shot at the coach and killed Monsieur Myercroon's secretary, who was in it. His lady went out of the coach and told them that if they were a party they ought to respect the French King's pass ; if they were robbers, they



might take all they had, but begged to have the lives spared. The servants cried out in a fright that their Master was killed, upon which the party retired, and their chief told his lady, that she might return to Aix, but that she could not proceed in her journey. 'Tis thought that this mistake of the servants saved his life and that there was a design to destroy him to prevent his coming to tell the secrets of the French Court of which he knows a great deal.

What resolution this Court will take upon this affair is not yet known. It may be, the Prince of Pleun hath a full power to accommodate all differences.

The Ministry here is extremely disgusted at the conduct of the Courts of Berlin and Hanover in the affair of Saxony. They are pleased with the letter which the States have lately written to the Queen upon that subject, and are impatient to know her Majesty's resolution thereupon. I have seen a letter from Monsicur Rumoro, who hath been in Saxony with the Electress Dowager ever since she was married hence. He assisted in making the truce with the Swede and advised the States of Saxony to it.

He saith that the chief subject of the King of Prussia's message to the King of Sweden was about the Triple Alliance the project of which is sent to Stockholm to be considered on by the Senate, but that he is of opinion that neither Sweden nor Hanover will give ear to such a vague project. He saith that one of the secret articles is that Monsieur de Barrière shall be restored to the Electorate at the making of the peace. This he wrote in the greatest confidence to an intimate friend ; what stress it will bear, I am not capable to judge.

We have news that commissions are given by the Swede to some officers in Hamburg to raise six regiments for that service.

Letters from Norway give an account that the Holland's convoy, which went from hence of the 25th N.S. was attacked by the Dunkirk squadrons, under the command of Monsieur Fourbin about 14 leagues off the coast of Holland, that two of the greatest ships were burnt and sunk, and that the other four with some merchant men escaped into Norway. An Englishman came to me to-day who listed himself in Holstein in this King's service, desiring me to get his discharge. He is a lusty fellow of about thirty four years old. Here are others who are in the same miserable condition of life. But there is no getting any of them released, except one gives the captain as much money as will buy another man ; for men are bought and sold here like other animals. When any man of war comes here, if the Captain would lay down 5 or 6*l.* for a man, he might take them aboard one of the Queen's ships, and afterwards take that money out of their pay ; by which the Queen might recover her subjects without any charge. I can't forbear making this proposal, for the life of a soldier here is the greatest misery that can be.

*Docketed.* Received October 12.

## CHARLES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, September 1<sup>st</sup>. Copenhagen.—We have news at length that the Imperial Court hath taken off the sequestration of the County of Ranzau, so that now the Circle of Lower Saxony is at liberty to restore the Count to possession according to the Imperial mandate.

They have here of late vexed the Hollanders about the toll of the Sound. I am told it would be much for the advantage of the trade of England into the Baltic Sea, if an English Consul resided at Elsinore, for as matters now go there, the skipper cheats the merchant and the custom house officers cheat the skipper; and that a Treaty still in force empowers the Queen to keep an officer there, without whose consent no ship can be cleared.

The Prince of Pleun is gone to his estate in Holstein and from thence he goes to Paris. That estate ought to be confiscated according to the laws of the Empire, he having been in the service of France. The Emperor's Resident hath been spoken to about the business and been told that, if it were sequestered, the revenue, which is 2000*l.* sterling *per annum* might help to pay the Emperor's debt to the King of Denmark, but he is a man that so much loves his ease, that he excuseth the matter, and will not give himself the trouble of the negociation.

The Secretary of Berlin, who served the late envoy, is recalled and another is on his way to supply his place, but the state of that Court and the qualifications of the person, which are already known, make it thought that he hath no extraordinary commission.

There is still more intelligence, which confirms the project of the Triple Alliance and 'tis believed that either it is or will be soon concluded. This conduct of the Court of Berlin gives great jealousy here. Other instructions are sent this day to the Danish Ministers in England and Holland about the affair of Prince Charles, which are, that he renounceeth the possession as long as the Administrator lives, and promises not to disturb him, on condition that the pension shall be regularly and exactly paid by the Queen and the States, but that he can't renounce the right of the Chapter and that, if he should pretend to do so, they have still the power to reserve the right and prosecute the cause in the Aulick Council at Vienna. If the form of the renunciation be a little moderated they would be glad to comply with it that they might receive the pension. They are content that the payment should begin from the time that the Queen made the declaration at the Hague.

The Ministers declare that the King would be willing that his troops in Flanders should go into Saxony, if the Allies should think fit to oblige the Swede by force to leave that country. This they think would be sufficient to satisfy their guarantee without sending any more troops out of the country. In case

the Queen and the States should declare themselves so disposed, Denmark will scarce be prevailed upon to do anything more but upon very hard terms.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, October  $\frac{16}{5}$ . Copenhagen.—The Prince of Pleun is gone hence without speaking one word to the King of the business he came about, but he hath appointed Monsieur Coermaleon, a French Papist who is governor of the town, his commissioner to manage his interest who since his departure hath spoken to the King about it.

I have talked with the Chancellor about the business which lately happened to Monsieur Myercroon and took that occasion to tell him of their conduct in relation to the usage that Minister received before from the French Court. As to what happened now, he said only that they had written to the Court of France to have their explanation of the affair; and as to former passages his discourse was so strange that it deserves not to be related. One ought to believe that either the King hath disapproved his conduct, or that the Ministers are not his friends, otherwise he would be supported after another fashion. But as far as I can learn, the true mystery of the matter is, that these ministers had made an engagement with those of France, that this Court should mediate or procure a peace in favour of France. Monsieur Myercroon, was the maker of this project, and Monsieur Vanstucken was to carry it on in England. But Madame Myercroon could not keep the secret and discovered it in Holland, which so irritated the French Court that they have done her and her husband all this mischief and the Ministers here are so displeased at the disappointment that they have deserted them; though they seem not to have left off that design.

For every now and then the Chancellor drops a word in discourse that tends that way.

The King probably hath been engaged in it by being persuaded that he might keep the balance of Europe; and discoursing of news one day at table he told Monsieur Crabbe that he was too good an ally. Poussin is not let into this secret, but they have some other correspondent at the French Court.

The Electress Dowager of Saxony, with the Prince Royal is coming into this country. Where she is to reside is not yet resolved.

They are here extremely pleased with the hopes that the Allies will break with Sweden, hoping that if they do any part of the business to be well paid for it. But 'tis great pity they should profit by those troubles, of which they have been the authors. For memory sake I shall give some account of their late politics. In 1699 they made a Treaty with the Court of Berlin, unknown to their Minister at that Court, and to the Ministers here, except to the Chancellor, and Monsieur Jessen who is now Envoy to



the King of Poland; the subject of that Treaty was that Brandenburg should not oppose their designs in Holstein. They made another Treaty with the King of Poland, that he should assist them with 8000 men against Holstein, notwithstanding former obligations to the contrary.

Upon the strength of these two Treaties without any other reason they began the war in Holstein in 1700 for some of them confess that a redress to all their pretended grievances was offered them by the late King of England, and the States of Holland. The Court of Berlin deserted them in that juncture, and they have never been good friends since. They have endeavoured underhand ever since that time to continue the war in Poland in prospect that in long run they might get something by it.

And what they seek now is to put the world in a greater confusion that they may make their own advantage. I take the liberty to make this relation to give a notion of the temper of this Court.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, October  $\frac{23}{13}$ . Copenhagen.—We have advice that a Swedish vessel is shipwrecked on the coast of Bornholm, which was charged with 300 prisoners—Poles, Saxons, and Muscovites, who all came safe ashore and were put into a Church.

The Muscovite Ambassador and the Minister of Poland have given in memorials to the King to desire his Majesty to set these prisoners at liberty and to take them into his protection. What reason they have to make this request is not easy to comprehend for shipwreck gives no man a right to seize another's property, a misfortune can't be esteemed a forfeiture. 'Tis not thought that either the justice of the cause, or the juncture of the times will incline the King to set these prisoners free. But these Ministers have the liberty to ask what they please of this Court, and are sure of a civil answer without having their business done. This Court is in great concern about the affair of Saxony; the Swedes exacting from that country 650,000 crowns a month, which is above a million and a half sterling per annum; they think that by such means they will grow so rich as to be in a position to make war with all the world. They blame extremely the conduct of England and Holland for giving them so much time to fortify themselves. I asked them how 'twas possible to take measures in so short a time to oblige them to retire. The Chancellor answered that the Fleet designed for the descent ought immediately to have come hither. Notwithstanding this seeming forwardness, they will be the last that will enter into any concert to cure this growing evil, and will make the most difficulty to engage money; or perhaps an assurance of regaining something they have lost may prevail with them but for honour or for their Allies they will do nothing. And in case they should enter into a war, here is not a man either

civil or military, who is capable to conduct so weighty an affair, and if they should come to have any misfortune in it, the crown would be in great danger of being lost were it not strongly supported from abroad. For nobody here is easy in his mind or his fortunes and some of them don't stiek to say that they don't care who is their master, since their burthen is already as heavy as it can be. Those of this opinion are a strong party, even all the Danes to a man, for they have found out the secret, that England and Holland reap their profit from the division of the kingdoms of the north, and they declare that they had rather be united to Sweden and make a figure, than be separate, and make none. For as oppressed as they are, they are yet as ambitious and as proud as ever. The King is very sensible of the truth of all this and besides, his inclination is neither to run the hazard, nor to be at the expense of a war. But on the other side, could moderate terms prevail upon them to engage and were those terms such as would give the people hopes of being one day great, and had they Ministers and officers able to direct and carry on such an affair, they are capable of doing great service.

They have 20,000 men in Norway, which (excepting those in garrisons) could march into Sweden without resistance. And they have 13,000 in this country which, when their Militia, which are as many more, were put in the garrisons might be sufficient to guard their frontier, provided Sweden were employed with their main strength somewhere else. Their Fleet in conjunction with ten other ships of war would be an overmatch for that of their neighbours, and it is in such a readiness that it might be put to sea in a month's time, as it was in the year 1700. This is the state of this country in regard to the present juncture of affairs; I wish it were better, but one must describe it as it is. I understand the new orders about the affair of Prince Charles, which I mentioned in my last, are not sent till to-day. 'Tis thought the Electress Dowager of Saxony with the Prince Royal will take their residence at Rensburg in Holstein. I beg you to put the Admiralty in mind to remit the money for the anchors and cables.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, October  $\frac{26}{15}$ . Copenhagen.—Yesterday the Minister of Poland delivered a letter to this King from the King his master desiring his assistance to drive the Swedes out of Saxony according to his Majesty's engagement and promise to defend that country. He at the same time, declared to his Majesty that his Master would never make a peace upon such dishonourable conditions as Sweden proposed. The King answered that he could not but approve the resolution of his Majesty of Poland, and that if other powers would assist him, he would not be wanting on his part to concur with them.

It hath been said in answer to the memorials of the Muscovite and Polish Ministers relating to the prisoners at Bornholm, that undoubtedly the Governor will have delivered them to the Swede, before the King's orders to set them free can reach him. All the military men gave their opinion that they ought to be set at liberty, but the more peaceable counsels have prevailed.

I received yesterday a letter from his Excellency my Lord Raby complaining of the absurdity of the Danish Envoy at Berlin in refusing to give the hand to his Excellency in his Excellency's own house. I have acquainted the Chancellor with it according to his Excellency's desire and put him in mind of what ill consequence such a dispute might be to Denmark at this juncture and for the time to come. The Chancellor condemned the conduct of the envoy, and promised to give me the King's opinion of it to-morrow. The Secretary of State informed me since, that the Envoy had desired leave to go to his estate in Holstein and that he did not think he would continue long in that post on account that the Court of Berlin thought fit to keep only a secretary here. They are resolved to have Ministers to adorn this Court, whatever it costs; though when they have them they soon take care to make them weary of it.

I take this occasion to inform you that the rules of the ceremonial are as ill observed by this Court at home as by their Ministers abroad. For notwithstanding the reverse that was given to Mr. Vernon that no Minister of the second order should ever for the time to come be received but according to that form of ceremonial he complied with, yet the Swedish Envoy and the Emperor's Resident, who never submitted to it, have all along enjoyed the same privileges he did, the one keeps a public chapel, the other speaks to the King when he pleaseth. The present Minister of Poland who hath resided here a year and a half hath all the privileges of a Minister, though he hath no character and never received audience in form. To excuse this it is said that a Minister of Poland hath complied before, but it can't but be thought very irregular that a Resident Minister should never have audience in form. A Minister from the late Duke of Zell was likewise admitted without passing the ceremonial; and at taking his leave had the present of an envoy given him. And yet now they refuse to receive a Minister from Hanover on that account. The Court of Hanover hath ordered their Secretary not to go to Court on account of his being forbid the Presence Chamber. He of Berlin is ordered to follow the example of the Secretary of her Majesty. I have not been there since, and shall not go, till I am commanded to do so, or till the ordinance be changed. This is the birthday of Prince Charles; the Court was very numerous to compliment his Highness, which everyone did very heartily, he being a Prince of an excellent good nature and extremely beloved.

*Docketed. Received 26.*



CHARLES VERNON to SIR ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, November 29. Copenhagen.—I have received yours of 22 October, old style, for which I thank you. We still want two posts from England. I have a letter from Mr. Pulteney, that according to all appearance he will be appointed to come Envoy to this Court. I hope her Majesty will be so gracious as to give me leave to stay here, till the season, which will be very rigorous at the time of his arrival, will permit me to return into England. For the month of January is here very inconvenient to travellers and especially to those who are not of the strongest constitution, and who have no good conveniences of travelling.

I don't pretend to have any part in business after Mr. Pulteney's arrival, knowing that there will be no occasion for my assistance, but only desire that my pension may be continued, till the weather will permit me to return to England. I desire you would do me the favour to represent the case to Mr. Secretary, whose favour I humbly beg in this affair.

The Museovite prisoners at Bornholm have in their passage to Sweden thrown the Swedish officers overboard, which were their guard, and are returned to the island; of which the Museovite Ambassador hath received an express.

The same Ambassador, as 'tis said, by order from his Master, hath delivered in a memorial this day to the King to press his Danish Majesty to assist his Master; and to put his Majesty in mind that now is the time to do so, and that a like conjuncture may not probably present itself.

This Court would fain seem very zealous for the King of Poland, though in reality they are nothing less, for they neither trust the King of Poland nor the Czar, but they prudently discharge themselves of that affair by remitting it to the consideration of the Queen and the States. A Master of the Horse is come hither from the Electress of Saxony to compliment the Royal family on the part of her Electoral Highness and the Electoral Prince and to thank his Majesty for the security they enjoy under his Royal protection, desiring leave to stay at Copenhagen till February next. Mr. Hook, the Prince's Secretary hath wrote hither that the affair of the renunciation of Prince Charles was a mistake. The Secretary of State was sent from the King to desire the Prince to sign the renunciation, but his Highness refused it. This makes people think, that some of the Council would have the bishopric adjudged to the Administrator of Holstein.

The affair of Holstein Plocun will be a process at the Imperial Court between the two brothers, but as I can apprehend, it will make no disturbance in Lower Saxony.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, December 13. Copenhagen.—I informed you in my last that three Scotch ships were taken by a privateer of Dunkirk

out of a port in Norway within the land. The Captain had the commission of King Philip of Spain. The name of the harbour is Helisound lying near the Fortress of Christiansand. The Scotch masters ransomed their ships for about 500*l.* sterling and gave hostages for the payment. They were taken so near the fortress, that they had time to make their application to the Governor, who sent eight soldiers in a boat to demand the hostages, but the privateer refused to deliver them. I need not inform you that the King of Denmark is obliged by Treaty to secure our ships in his ports and to keep all privateers from entering therein. I have received the complaint of the masters, signed with their hands, together with the attestation of the people of the country, signed and sealed, and the original contract for the ransom signed by the privateer. I have communicated these papers to the Ministers, who have shewn them to the King, and I desired that satisfaction might be made to those who had suffered in the King's harbours under the royal protection. All the answer I can get from the Ministers is, that 'tis impossible to defend all the ports in Norway they being so numerous, though at the same time they take care to defend none, not keeping so much as one frigate to guard the coast. The Secretary of State sent me just now the same answer from the King, that his Majesty knew not what to do in it. I never expected they would do justice in the ease, for, if they will not make the least motion as they have not yet done to vindicate the King's honour which hath suffered so much in the person and family of Monsieur Myercroon, tis not to be thought they should disoblige France to do England more justice than they do themselves.

I shall consult with the Holland's Envoy who is as much interested to procure a satisfaction as I am what more is to be done in the business. I know I shall get nothing from them, but a protestation secures a claim of right. I humbly conceive the most effectual way to have the hostages released would be to write to the Governor of Dunkirk about it, who, it may be, hath honour enough not to protect those who against the laws of war have committed violence in a neutral place. The name of the Captain of the privateer is Peter Ferard. The names of the Masters of the ships are Robert Arthur, Patrick Galbreath and Robert Boyd. The names of the hostages Robert Crawford, John Arthur, Thomas Meun. The ships were taken the 3rd of November, N.S.

I am assured that the French Secretary at Stockholm had in the name of his Master formally demanded the mediation of the King of Sweden to make a peace with the Allies. No such demand hath been made here, notwithstanding their intrigues for that purpose. I have seen a letter from Warsaw from the Chief Minister of King Augustus, dated November 24 who writes nothing of the peace. He says the King designed in some days to go for Thorn, 'tis supposed he will go thence

to Königsberg in his way to Dresden to meet the King of Sweden. We are assured that the instruments of abdication and renunciation to the Crown of Poland are in the King of Sweden's hands, signed by King Augustus. The English convoy is arrived at Gottenburgh.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706, December  $\frac{2}{4}$ . Copenhagen.—I have seen a letter of last post from a merchant in Leipsic which gives an account of the arrival of King Augustus in that town *incognito*, and that he lodged in his house. His Majesty was not known to be there till he left the town. He went thence directly to the King of Sweden's quarters and not finding his Swedish Majesty, he went forward to Count Piper's quarters, where he was. The two Kings after mutual civilities entered into a room and had a private conference for about two hours, which being ended, the King of Sweden conducted him to his own quarters, where they stayed two days and nights together, nobody ever being in their company but one Swedish minister. All the endearments imaginable passed between them at this interview. It can't but be thought strange that such enemies should so soon become so great friends. When I informed you of the notice I got of the peace which hath been lately concluded to the great surprise of all the world, nobody at this Court knew anything of it, of the means of which information I have since given some account though I durst not trust the person's name in a letter: the same man assures me now, that the two Kings have some design which may prove prejudicial to the affairs of the Allies, and that King Augustus had not so easily quitted the Crown of Poland, but in hopes of some recompense for that loss. What the project is, he will not tell, neither hath he told anyone else so much of that affair. The most probable design seems to be upon some part of the Emperor's dominions. I am very sure my friend doth not impose upon me out of artifice, neither do I think he is imposed upon himself, because he was so exactly informed of the Treaty of Peace beforehand. And he is no Dane either, by birth, interest or inclination.

*Docketed.* Received December 23. Nine days.

ROBERT HARLEY to JAMES VERNON.

1706—07.—<sup>January 4.</sup>  
<sup>December 24.</sup> Whitehall.—I suppose Mr. Pulteney is scarce arrived at Copenhagen so that you will not be able to depart sooner than February, according to your own calculation and the time the Queen hath thought fit to indulge you. I need not put you in mind that you do your utmost to assist Mr. Pulteney during your stay by giving him any information which may be for the Queen's service and by contributing all you can to make him easy.

I received yesterday your letter of December 25 and heartily thank you for it.



The hint you mention very well deserves attention and since your intelligence gave you so early notice of the Peace, it is not impossible but that he may be able to give some account of what measures those Princes entered together upon; for without doubt, at the same time the peace was concerted, it was also agreed how to act after. If you think a present might produce any thing worth it, you should not stick at that in an affair so remote and so uncertain. I must refer it to your prudence to conduct it upon these general instructions. If there happen to be anything disclosed to you of very great moment, you had best make use of that cipher which Mr. Vernon had, or what Mr. Pulteney brings with him.

*Draft in Harley's hand.*

CHARLES VERNON TO ROBERT HARLEY.

1706-07, <sup>January 4.</sup><sub>December 24.</sub> Copenhagen.—I am very glad to understand that your honour is pleased to think my request of staying here till the weather is better reasonable. I am infinitely obliged to your honour, that you think it worth while to move the Queen in my behalf; I doubt not but her Majesty will think everything reasonable that your honour thinks so. I do assure your honour that I will serve myself of no pretext to stay here longer than is necessary, but at present we have no more than six hours day and I have no convenience of travelling, but in an open cart. Your honour hath in everything shewn so much favour to me that I flatter myself with a perfect assurance of your patronage and protection and if I should ask anything of your honour, but immediately by myself, I should incur the imputation of ingratitude. What I take the liberty to propose to your honour, and what I beg your honour to propose to the Queen is, that I may continue in her Majesty's service in the quality of Secretary. Where I should be useful in that station her Majesty and your honour can best judge. I have imagined that some employment might be found for me at Brussels or Antwerp or in some parts of Spain. 'Tis indifferent to me where I am if I may but have the honour to serve the Queen.

In a popish country as an ecclesiastic I can do good to the Protestant religion for a Secretary hath the same privilege of the exercise of religion in his own house as an Ambassador. And my zeal and industry should never be wanting to do my duty as to public business. I desire no other honour than to be trusted and to answer the trust reposed in me, and no more riches than such a subsistence as her Majesty is pleased now to allow me. I can't think anyone can blame me for desiring to serve such a Queen and such a government. And your honour's kind usage of me makes me desire more especially to serve in that province that belongs to your honour. I am fully persuaded that your honour will do all that is reasonable and fit to be done to satisfy this my humble request; and if it doth not succeed I am sure it ought not for some good reason.

If your honour would be pleased to write a letter to Count Raventlaw, the Great Chancellor here, to tell him that her Majesty thinks fit to recall me, her Majesty's Secretary, from hence, I am told that I should have the usual present given to Secretaries at their departure, and that otherwise they will make a difficulty to give it me, it having never been notified in form, that I am her Majesty's Secretary. This present will be about 100*l.* sterling, which will enable me to subsist sometime without an employment or put me in a condition to undertake one.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received January 7. Fourteen days.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706-7, <sup>January 4.</sup><sub>December 24.</sub> Copenhagen.—I can get no further information as yet of the designs of Sweden, but I find it is believed, that the assurances they give not to hinder the affairs of the Allies are not real and sincere. Upon the first report of these surmises, one who is one of the King's greatest confidants discoursed to me of the state of affairs, and told me that, let Sweden do what it would, the King would never interpose to hinder its designs, England and Holland having all along refused to hearken to his proposals to reduce Sweden to reason. I am assured the King said as much ; and, setting aside reason, his nature doth not incline him to meddle in affairs of that nature. I related all this discourse to Monsieur Plessen who made me not one word of answer but what was superficial. I understand that he hath since conferred with Monsieur Lent who is the only man of the Council that hath a true insight into public affairs ; and he, by the suggestions of Monsieur Plessen, hath since represented to the King the absolute necessity of his Majesty's joining with the Allies in case Sweden should attempt anything against them and convinced him *malgré lui et son naturel* (which was the expression of my informer) that a neutrality in such a case would be his ruin, and I am assured that, if such a thing should happen, measures are already taken to oppose the Swedes. What are the particulars of this Resolution I can't yet understand.

I must take this occasion to inform your honour that Monsieur Plessen doth more good in the station he is in, than if he were actually in the Council, for the King hath secretly a good opinion of him, and when any difficulty happens, his Majesty finds some way to know his sentiments, which he afterwards proposeth as his own to the Council where Monsieur Lent is present to confirm them with good arguments. And by this means a man who is in disgrace directs the most important affairs of this country.

*Docketed by Harley as above.*

## CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706-7. January <sup>14</sup>/<sub>15</sub>. Copenhagen.—This is to give your honour to understand how little this Court desires to have any quarrel with their neighbours, and how apprehensive they are of those they think not their friends, as your honour will perceive by the following story :—King Augustus hath a pretension upon this Court for many hundred thousand crowns, for the ravage the Danish troops committed in Saxony in their march towards Italy. This Court hath a pretension upon that of Saxony for 80,000 crowns, which was money lent out of the Treasury. The Danes would never acknowledge anything due for the damages their troops did, but always insisted upon the payment of their debt. Of late, here hath been a discourse as if King Augustus would sell his pretensions upon Denmark to Sweden, and the same hath been put in the Gazette of Hamburg, which is all a trick, though what he may do, one cannot tell. This Court is alarmed at the very report, and the chief of the Treasury sent for me this afternoon to desire me to accommodate the affair with the Minister of King Augustus, if I could. The reason why he chose me is because we are known to be friends. The offer made is to exchange one debt for the other, which hath been formerly proposed by that Minister, but rejected by this Court. The business is not yet adjusted, but I believe may be to-morrow.

The reason why I trouble your honour with this relation is that I know such a report hath been industriously spread, and that it may be made use of to many purposes.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received Jan. 14. Ten days.

## CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706-7. January <sup>25</sup>/<sub>14</sub>. Copenhagen.—I have received yours of January 4, new style. I am very sensible that my duty to her Majesty obligeth me to do all I can for the information and satisfaction of Mr. Pulteney. His behaviour here is such that I am persuaded he will maintain the Queen's honour and interest at this Court.

I have endeavoured to inform myself upon the subject of your honour's letter, and am assured from the same hand, that the one Prince hath not so much respect for the other as to enter into any engagement with him, and that he hath been much deceived in any expectation of that kind. I am told that the only danger now is, lest S[pai]n should second the proposals the deposed E[mpero]r hath made to the Empire for his restoration ; or that lest Religion should be laid hold of as a pretext for the same end. I know all this is common talk, but when people affirm things with confidence, they must either be obliged to prove or retract them.

We are here in the greatest fear and uneasiness imaginable ; it may be out of a conscience of what we deserve ; and we wish



that our friend may go anywhere rather than make us a visit, and if the cloud which hangs over us should be removed to any other part, we will not spend a farthing to divert it. For 'tis our interest that other people should quarrel, and that we should look on and take their money.

If a provisional agreement were now offered in ease such a thing should come to pass, fear might incline us to accept it for our own security.

Such an agreement might likewise be a means to divert the danger from both. But if anything happens without that, you will have nothing but reproaches and upbraidings for suffering things to come to that extremity, for, if we are, safe, let the world sink. The day after I wrote to your honour, the affair of the debt and the pretension was proposed to the Council. One part of them were of one sentiment and the other of another, so that no resolution is taken upon it.

*Docketed.* Received January 26.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706-07, February <sup>19</sup>/<sub>8</sub>. Copenhagen.—It can't but be a very sensible affliction to every good Englishman, that your honour, who hath worked such wonders for the good of your country, should have been in danger of not living to see them brought to perfection and to enjoy the fruits of your industry and wisdom. But I hope in God you are now in a condition to direct the Assembly of the kingdom as well as heretofore. We know what an effort your honour hath made for the public good and we are glad that it hath had success, if it be without any detriment to your health. For you are too good a patriot to make yourself a sacrifice. Yesterday I took leave of the King, being introduced by the Master of the Ceremonies in full court, and his Majesty hath since ordered me a present.

This is an extraordinary favour to one in my station and would have been shewn to nobody but a servant of her Majesty. This day I took leave of Prince Charles who recommended to me the finishing of his business. He promiseth to submit to all the Queen's desires, so that the affair may be ended.

Your honour knows very well that all preparations are made here by sea and by land to oppose any insult that——may offer to their neighbour and to put themselves in a condition to oppose or divert any ill design.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received February 21. Thirteen days.

CHARLES VERNON to ROBERT HARLEY.

1706-7, <sup>March 8.</sup>/<sub>February 25.</sub> Hamburg.—I take the liberty to acquaint your honour that I am arrived at this place; and I had not stayed so long at Copenhagen if it had not been to get my present. I have had the honour to wait upon Mr. Wych who hath acquainted me that he hath sent your honour an account of the proceedings of the Administrator of Holstein

against the Canons of Lubeck of Prince Charles his party. The Danish Resident at this place hath been with me and told me that he hoped the Queen would perform her promise of taking those Canons into her royal protection. He likewise told me that the Ministers of Gottorp had desired of His Majesty of Sweden, and that pursuant to that desire, the Minister of his Swedish Majesty at the Hague had demanded of the States three things, viz., that the States should acknowledge the Administrator of Holstein as Bishop of Lubeck, that they should "guarant" the Treaty lately concluded between his Swedish Majesty and King Augustus, and oblige the Danes to end their differences with the House of Holstein pursuant to an article of the Treaty of Travendahl. What Sweden and Holstein mean by these demands, your honour can best judge.

I have received a letter this day from one of my friends at Copenhagen which tells me the King hath been in the country with no good company and that the Queen is much dissatisfied, where that matter will end time will soon shew.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received 5.

ROBERT HARLEY to D. PULTENEY.

[1707, March ] I hope this will find you safely arrived at Copenhagen where I heartily wish you all the satisfaction and success suitable to your capacity and application, I send you enclosed a letter from the Queen to the King upon the birth of the Princess which you will please to deliver with the necessary compliments. We expect by the next post to hear that King Augustus is come into Saxony and then we shall have more light and be better able to judge of this mysterious treaty.

*Draft in Harley's handwriting.*

D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, April 23 N.S. Copenhagen. Though I have nothing of moment to acquaint you with, I think it my duty to take notice that matters seem to continue as when I sent my last of the 9th instant N.S. The devotion of this week has kept the Court and Ministers very retired so that I have had no opportunity of knowing what reflections are made upon some accounts lately sent from other parts in which this Court is concerned. We hear the Holstein Resident at the Hague has very earnestly pressed the States General to prevail with this King to give a new and solemn promise that he will acquiesce in the Convention of 1647, by which the Chapter of Lubeck is engaged to choose for six generations a bishop out of the family of Schleswig Holstein. Some private letters which came by last post from Saxony, say, the King of Sweden has resolved to demand of the Emperor those Museovites which had taken refuge in the Empire; and to support this demand with threats in case it be not complied with.

The same letters say that the Czar of Muscovy had sent to the French Envoy at Leipzig a blank to be offered the King of

Sweden to present his conditions of peace, but the example of King Augustus should seem so sufficient a warning to venture the extremity of war rather than buy a peace at the mercy of an incensed enemy, that this report is not very credible.

The last letters from Sweden say the Queen Dowager, who has for sometime been thought at the point of death is now preserved only by a remedy left by the late unhappy Pekul, which by his chemical operations in search of the Philosopher's Stone, he had prepared sometime before his death. The physicians have declared they know no other remedy, that could have had the same effect.

*Holograph.*

*Endorsed by Harley.* Received April 21. Nine days.

#### D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, October 1. N.S. Copenhagen.—None of the Danish Ministers have as yet made any mention to me of the Holstein Article in the Treaty lately concluded between the Emperor and the King of Sweden which confirms me in the opinion I had that they are not particularly informed of the contents of that Treaty. I had yesterday a long discourse with the Great Chancellor upon several subjects relating to the Swedes and their transactions in Saxony, but he did not give the least hint about the Treaty. I think since they seem to let it sleep it is not my business to awaken any disputes upon that occasion.

The Dutch Envoy has not as yet received any orders to complain about the Holland ships lately burnt by Monsieur Fourbin in one of the ports of Norway. I fancy the States are, not willing to engage at present in any disputes with this Court, till they see whether they may not have occasion to manage the Danes for some other design.

A Hamburg news writer, who sends constantly every post a paper of written news to several persons of this Court, has in his letter of yesterday inserted an article from England of which I send enclosed the translation. The insinuation regarding the Parliament I think deserves some notice, and I have written to Mr. Wich to examine and to punish the author in such a manner as he shall think proper. No doubt Mr. Wich will desire to have your further orders about it. The King spoke to me yesterday about the meeting of the British Parliament and seemed to let fall some expressions agreeable to this insinuation. One of the ministers mentioned it to me more plainly and I told him that if all those who were engaged in this present alliance against France and others who ought to be as much concerned for the liberty of Europe, would continue this war as long and with as much vigour as the Queen, my mistress, France might easily be reduced to its due bounds.

*Holograph.* *Endorsed by Harley.* Received Oct. 2.



## D. PULTENEY to MR. LEWIS.

1707, October 8. N.S. Copenhagen.—It is reported here that there rages such a violent pestilential distemper in Island, which sweeps away the inhabitants, who are most seamen, in such numbers, that it is thought the Danes will suffer exceedingly in their fishery in those parts. Yet, though this news is greatly suspected and confidently affirmed by some, there are others here who as confidently deny it and use all means to suppress the report, whether by order or not my next may perhaps better inform you.

The Muscovite Ambassador at this Court expects shortly to be recalled with a design, as he tells me, to be employed by the Czar his Master on an embassy to the great Mogul.

His successor is already named and is now with the Czar in Poland.

## The EARL of SUNDERLAND to D. PULTENEY.

1707, October 21. Whitehall.—I have received, in Mr. Secretary Harley's absence, your letter of October 18, and, in answer to it, am to acquaint you, that the Queen thinks it very reasonable to gratify the King of Denmark as far as may be, without giving umbrage to the King of Sweden, and therefore willingly takes this opportunity of doing it, by recommending to the Court of Vienna, in the method which his Danish Majesty proposes, the putting off the decision of the affair of Rantzau. But it being necessary that this be done in the most secret manner the Queen has ordered me to write to the Duke of Marlborough whilst his Grace is at the Hague, that he would recommend it to Count Wratislaw as what will be very agreeable to her Majesty. You are privately to inform the King of Denmark with her Majesty's proceeding in this affair, and to do it in such a manner as to make him sensible of the Queen's desire of obliging him by it.

## D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707–08. January 25. N.S. Copenhagen.—Since my last of the 18th instant N.S., I have been chiefly employed in giving and receiving visits of ceremony, and as soon as that trouble is over I fancy this Court will desire I should receive my public audience for they seem to be very fond of having any confirmation of their new ceremonial and I will endeavour to gratify them in that point as soon as possible.

When among my other visits I was with the Swedish Envoy, I found he was mightily pleased that I had taken a private audience and seemed to flatter himself that my design by it was not to take a public one, as if the Queen had thought that it was sufficient to have once complied with the ceremonial to which the Swedes and some others are still non-conformists. I endeavored to undeceive him in his expectations, but he still

persisted to give me some reasons and precedents which might justify me in such a proceeding, so that not to give him or myself any further trouble upon the point I have put off the decision of it for a fortnight ; when I hope to be ready for my public audience.

I find this Court is not at all satisfied that the Elector of Hanover has not as yet sent a Minister to return the compliments of their acknowledging the ninth Electorate, it is true the Electors' Secretary here had orders to know if a gentleman without a character would be admitted upon that occasion, but this offer was rejected and with some resentment and they seem to expect here that the Queen should interpose to create a better friendship between this Court and that of Hanover. For it is urged that by the same Treaty, by which the King of Denmark at the desire of England and Holland, promised to acknowledge the ninth Electorate, England and Holland engaged that, on that consideration, they would use their best endeavours to make the House of Lunenburg more favourable for the future to the interest of Denmark and to restore that friendship and good understanding which had formerly been between the two houses. They say here that the conditions of that Treaty have been exactly performed on their part and entirely neglected on the other so that the opposition which the House of Lunenburg has constantly given to all the measures of Denmark may be in some measure imputed to the want of a friendly mediation from England and Holland.

I thought it proper to mention this matter to you, because at this juncture it may perhaps be necessary to settle a good correspondence between this Court, and that of Hanover, in case they should be attacked here by Sweden, as this Court seems to apprehend and do not think themselves in a condition to withstand such a blow. I cannot pretend to give any account myself of the condition they may be in at present to oppose Sweden, no doubt Mr. Vernon my predecessor has fully informed you of that. I have talked upon that point with the Dutch Envoy who has been many years at this Court, and is thought to be perfect master of all their affairs, and he has assured me that the King of Denmark has not in all Holstein 3,000 regular troops, which are dispersed in different garrisons, whereas Rensburg the chief garrison of that country would require at least 6,000 men to put it in a true posture of defence ; it is true there may be reckoned 6,000 militia which might be useful if joined with regular troops ; of which, since there are not enough to fill the garrisons, none certainly can be spared to appear in the field. The Dutch Envoy told me he had made this representation to the States, being convinced that an enemy might overrun the whole country of Holstein and Jutland without the least resistance, since they have here neither strength nor resolution to bear up against any such misfortune. A treaty of guaranty with Hanover would be an encouragement

to Denmark and a means to prevent any such intention from Sweden. Such a Treaty has been formerly proposed, but was dropped upon some differences about the extent of the guaranty or as the Danes say because the House of Lunenburg had then no real inclination to enter into any alliance with Denmark. I fancy there might be now a more favourable opportunity to set on foot such a Treaty, especially since I hear the Elector of Hanover desires to have the command of the army of the Empire and no doubt will apply to the Queen, for her interest to obtain it. If then such a Treaty between Denmark and Hanover may be thought useful to the common cause, the Elector, when he asks one favour, cannot so well refuse to allow another.

You will excuse this imperfect account from one who is as yet too much a stranger to the affairs of this Court, and the methods of managing them. I will endeavour to be better acquainted with both, that my application may make some amends for whatever else may be wanting in my conduct.

*Docketed.* Received January 26.

#### D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, December 6, N.S. Copenhagen.—I take the liberty to send you in private two or three words which I was not willing to insert in my public letter. I have endeavoured to inform myself what the several dispositions of this Court are in relation to the project of abolishing the communion as lately proposed by the Gottorp commissioners at Hamburg, I have been told that some persons have advised the King to close in with the Gottorp proposal and that even the Ministers are hitherto so little assured of the King's real sentiments of that affair, that they are not so very zealous in opposing that project, as otherwise they are inclined to do. This reason was given me in answer to a question I had made, why the Holsten nobility since they thought that project so very prejudicial to the King and to themselves did not make some public draft of the reasons to be alleged against it. Whatever the effect of it may prove to the King and the Duke it is very certain the nobility will be almost ruined by it; of which they who are best informed of their own interest are sensible to the last degree and think much more than they dare at present communicate to others. I happened last night to sup in company with the Great Chancellor, who at table drank to me a health to the good success of the negotiations at Hamburg and added "*Il faudroit Monsieur avoir pitié de la pauvre Noblesse de Holstein, qui a maintenue depuis si long temps ses privileges, son credit et son honneur.*"

The person who sat between me and the Chancellor told me that the tears fell from the Chancellor's eyes, as he was speaking those words.



The Swedish Envoy told me yesterday that Poussin had been with him the day before and had expressed great hopes of a rupture in the North upon occasion of the Gottorp proposal.

The said Envoy tells me that Poussin takes all occasions of speaking to him against the Danes and to the Danes says as much against the Swedes, hoping by one way or other to create disturbances.

I find that those here who do not wish well to our cause had great hopes that my Lord Peterborough and some others would raise such heats in Parliament as to hinder the despatch of public business and the giving the necessary supplies for pursuing the war.

*Docketed.* Received December 16.

#### D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1707, Dec. 27. N.S. Copenhagen.—I have more than once taken the liberty to send you a private letter with such advices as I thought might be for her Majesty's service, but I am sure it can never be in my power to contribute anything so useful to my Queen and country as your health and prosperity, for the continuance of which I now beg leave to assure you of my most hearty and constant wishes. I will not trouble you with many expressions on this occasion, since I had much rather my actions should answer for me, than my words, my great desire is to be of some use in the employment Her Majesty has been pleased to bestow on me, since I know I cannot recommend myself to your favour by any means so effectually as by a diligent application to her Majesty's service in which you are so zealously and so usefully engaged. I shall think my endeavours have been very successful if I can be happy enough to deserve any place in your esteem.

*Docketed.* Private. Received December 26.

#### D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1708. February 4. N.S. Copenhagen.—By my other letter enclosed you will see what the Holstein nobility think of the Gottorp proposal; and by this I will tell you in private how the King seems affected towards it. I find the King does not care to allow the rights and privileges of the nobility to be so great as they endeavour to represent them nor would he own himself to be so tied up by them as not to have the power to agree to the partition if he thought it agreeable to his interest, since it is said this King has not, as some of his predecessors did, sworn to preserve those privileges. However the King seems to be at present entirely against the partition, for reasons of his own and not for those of the nobility. First the project of itself is thought almost impracticable or at least not to be effected without giving occasion to several disputes and disturbances which may not perhaps be composed without coming

to greater extremities. Next, if the communion be taken off, it is feared the Union will soon follow, and it is by virtue of the Union that the King keeps the Duke most in awe and hinders him from entering into such measures against the King's interest, as otherwise they think here the Duke might be inclined to do. If I might add my opinion I should think the Union keeps them both in peace and quietness: were it once taken off each sovereign would catch at all opportunities of extending his power and dominions in the Duchy to the prejudice of the other. I know the King has been told by some here that by the partition he will become more absolute than he now is in Holstein and consequence, according to the arbitrary maxims, more rich and powerful, but I doubt of that consequence. Upon the first partition the King might raise greater sums from the nobility than he does at present, but by degrees the Stock would decrease, the credit of the nobility sink, their industry to improve their estates be forgot and it might happen in Holstein, as it seems to have done in Denmark, that the Kings are not grown more powerful since they have been absolute. Methinks, on the contrary, the balance was formerly more equal between the Northern Crowns, it now inclines very much to the Swedish side, which seems to receive more weight every day; and should that crown fall into the Gottorp family, as at present there is great likelihood, Denmark would be too much overbalanced and would become a burthen to those sovereigns whose interest it is to preserve an equal balance in the north.

*Docketed.* Private. Received February 3.

F. AWBREY to [RICHARD] WARRE, [under Secretary of State].

1708, February 7, N.S. Copenhagen.—Though the proposal which I sent you last post seemed to be calculated only for the destruction of Dunkirk Harbour, yet I think the project may be with much greater appearance of success be employed against Toulon for the following reasons:—

First, because the stones may be procured and shaped and all the materials that are necessary for the construction of the mass may be prepared at Barcelona.

Secondly because the channel of Toulon may be approached with much less danger and offence from the enemy than that of Dunkirk.

Thirdly, because the ship or ships that are to be loaded with the mass, if it will not be thought advisable to build them in Great Britain by reason the form of the ships (which are supposed to be without underdecks) may make them liable to miscarry in the ocean, may be contrived to be built either at Gibraltar or Barcelona.

Lastly, because the bulk and weight of the mass may be augmented, as the necessity of the case, or the depth and circumstances of the Channel, will require, with much more conveniency in such an enterprise against Toulon than against Dunkirk.

Now if the weight of such a mass can be augmented to 2,000 tons and upwards and made portable, of which there is no manner of doubt, I would fain know what strength or art will be able to remove it when sunk ? The form of the mass will secure its preservation against the force of gunpowder and to disjoint or detach the least part of it one from another when under water would meet with insuperable difficulties and puzzle a mechanical head of no common reach. Besides the above mentioned reasons, which distinguish the difference between such an undertaking against Toulon and against Dunkirk, I must confess that Dunkirk from the great quantity and the constant observation of the moveableness of the sands before it promises fairer hopes of its being liable to be choked up, than we can expect from the situation of Toulon. But I leave with great submission the consideration of the advantages or disadvantages in either place to better judgments ; only if it is thought fit to give in to such a project I shall be proud of having contributed my mite to the glory of the Queen's reign and to have bought the success of so great a work with the sacrifice of a life so inconsiderable as my own.

If the project is or is not intended to be put in execution, I think it ought to come into very few hands. Since my last I have imparted it to Mr. Pulteney whose secrecy and good wishes towards it we are but too well secure of.

I have nothing more to add at present, but that in case the project comes to be approved of, several specious colours may be given to the entering upon such an undertaking.

*Holograph.*

#### D. PULTENEY to THE SAME.

1708, February 14, 1708, N.S. By a North British ship which came last Sunday into our road and left Malstrand and Gottenburg the Thursday before we have advice that four men of war, the queen's ships, being convoy to forty-six sail of merehantmen outward bound from the Baltic are still in those ports ; that the men of war have lost a great many of their seamen ; and that greater numbers are sick on board through the violence of the cold weather. It was to be wished that they had never been ordered to winter in those parts, the expense being great and the Fleet always at charges and the loss of men inevitable whether they be kept constantly on board or whether they are suffered to go ashore. The same ship gives a further account, that she with that part of the Fleet that is at Malstrand was frozen up a considerable time but upon the coming on of a thaw she ventured to steal down to this place, designing for Dunkirk with the first favourable wind. I send you enclosed a printed project and the extract of a letter written to the Emperor's Resident here by a certain Italian Monk, Missionary in China, who came here last summer in a Danish



ship and has since pursued his journey towards Rome. I don't send you the project with the same view, as the author desired it might be communicated to me, since I can suppose that at best you will consider it only as a chimerical curiosity. Of the two copies, if you think fit, you may give one to Mr. Secretary Harley, to whom I don't write by this post having no manner of business.

D. PULTENEY to ROBERT HARLEY.

1708, March 13, N.S. Copenhagen.—I received last Saturday the honour of your letter of the 21st past which gave me notice that you had surrendered the seals of the office to her Majesty. Since that date I had addressed several letters to you and among the rest some private ones which, if they should come to your hands, I should be very glad, if you could spare a leisure minute and give your advice concerning the matters contained in them ; for, though I am no longer so immediately under your direction, yet I shall always very much esteem whatever opinion you may be pleased to give me either in relation to my private, or to the public affairs. I must not now pretend to trouble you so often with my letters.

ROBERT HARLEY to MR. STEPNEY.

Your precaution about the style of your Chancery towards the Queen was very necessary, though not successful for Count Gallass, having a private audience on Sunday, delivered two letters, one *cachet*, that used the style Majesty, . . . the other in Latin with only the title *Serenitas*. When I opened this last and found it thus I wrote to the Count Gallas to acquaint him with it and that I did it only as a friend and not as in my office, and that I should take no notice of it because I hoped he would get a new letter, and have credit enough to hasten it.

I think it will be proper you speak of it and what is here mentioned will give you sufficient matter to discourse your Court upon this head.

P.S. Does not the Emperor's Chancery give the title of Majesty to the King of France ?

*Draft in Harley's handwriting. Undated.*

D. PULTENEY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, August 26. N.S. 1712. Hamburg.—The enclosed letter addressed to your lordship was sent me from Copenhagen by an Englishman who has been engaged in the Danish service and is desirous to enter into the service of the South Sea Company. How far he is capable to be of use there I cannot tell ; but, if it be thought fit, I can have further enquiries made about him. He has of late desired to leave the service of Denmark and I have recommended his petitions to the King but no absolute answer has been given to them.

*Endorsed by Oxford. Received August 22.*

## D. PULTENEY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, October 11. N.S. Copenhagen.—Your lordship may have observed by my letters to my Lord Bolingbroke that Monsieur Hugnetan, the Bankrupt, is at present here, seeking, as I suppose, the protection of this Court. As he has made me a visit, I could do no less than return him another, in which he took occasion to let me know that the Court of Denmark would be willing to take in payment of the arrears due concerning the Danish troops which served in Flanders, the actions of the South Sea Company at the rate of 100*l.* each, though the price of them at present is only at 70*l.* odd. He added that some proposals have been made to him for engaging him to advance money to this Court on these actions in case we should think fit to give them on these terms. I was not willing to enter into any consideration of this overture. I only told Monsieur Hugnetan that the question in that respect between us and the Danes is not about our paying more or less. However I would not neglect to give your lordship an account of it; and, as it most properly relates to the Treasury, I have only mentioned it to your lordship, and have not taken any notice of it in my letters to my Lord Bolingbroke. Your lordship will be pleased to let me know your pleasure if I should give any encouragement to a proposal of this nature if it should again be made to me.

## D. PULTENEY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1713, August 19, N.S. Copenhagen.—I am sensible that it is chiefly owing to your Lordship's care and management that a provision is made for paying the debts of the Civil List and therefore think myself obliged to make my acknowledgement of thanks for the share I have in that public benefit. I hope my share in the payment of arrears will at least extend so far as may enable me to procure for the future a credit on my appointments and for this purpose it will be necessary I should have the payment of three years, 5,000*l.* being owing to Sir Robert Furnese on account of money advanced to me by his father on my letter of attorney. I take the liberty to represent to your lordship this state of my account in hopes you will be pleased to have a favourable regard for it.

## D. PULTENEY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

[Undated.] Being come to this place in consequence of the orders I had to follow the King and expecting here further orders whether I should follow his Majesty to Pomerania, I hope your Lordship will allow me to represent to you my circumstances on this occasion and to desire your favour for me.

I have been obliged to leave my secretary at Copenhagen to take care of such affairs as may happen relating to trade; I have been forced too to leave with him some part of my family to take care of my house and goods, such a caution

being very necessary in the present situation of affairs at Copenhagen. I have brought with me here only some part of my equipage, being unwilling to make the great expense of bringing it all, till I might be certain whether I should have occasion to make use of it here, if I should have orders, as I believe the Dutch Envoy will have, to continue in these parts somewhere near the King's army so as to be able to go there from time to time with such orders as her Majesty may think fit to send me, it will be necessary for me to make some more equipage; that, with the extraordinary expense of my staying in these parts and keeping at the same time my house and part of my family at Copenhagen (from whence I cannot take them now if I would) besides the expense of my travelling here, will be so very great a charge upon me, that I hope your Lordship will think it just and reasonable I should have an extraordinary allowance for that purpose; it may be considered too that the dearness of living both at Copenhagen and in these parts is very much increased. Your Lordship will be pleased to consider likewise on this occasion that there are due to me from the Treasury my appointments for above two years and a half last past, and that the payments ever since I have been abroad have been so very backward, that I have been forced to allow a considerable interest for money taken up to furnish my ordinary expenses. I have not, however, made any complaints, nor been importunate upon that subject and would not trouble your Lordship with this representation now, if I could possibly avoid it. I propose to myself no other interest or advantage, but the satisfaction of doing my duty for her Majesty's service, which I shall always endeavour to do with the utmost zeal and application.

Your Lordship will therefore, I hope, be pleased to recommend these matters in my favour to her Majesty's most gracious consideration. I should be yet more earnest in desiring your favour, if I found myself likely to have occasions to deserve it as I could wish to do.

[1713.]

#### D. PULTENEY to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1714, January 13, N.S. Copenhagen.—I have no sooner heard that the greatest part of the arrears of my ordinary appointments is paid than I take the liberty to return my thanks to your lordship I hope I shall soon have a like occasion to make my acknowledgements for the payment of my extraordinaries. The few among them which were made by express order from the Queen or through such a necessity as I am sure, her Majesty will be graciously pleased to allow of and as your Lordship will think just and reasonable.

It has indeed been mentioned to me, as if your Lordship might make some difficulty about allowing the bills of extra-



ordinaries, which are within the ordinary regulation, but I am too well assured of your Lordship's equity to apprehend any such difficulty.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Received January 17.

#### NEWS LETTER.

[1705 ?]. De la SUEDE. De STOCKHOLM le 10 de Mars.—On continue a former le proces à le General Major Paykul et à tous les autres sujets de eet Etat qui continuent a demeurer au service des ennemys et on prepare ici beaucoup de vaisseaux qui doivent transporter 6000 hommes pour le renforcement de nôtre armée en Lithuanie. Les vivres et beaucoup d'autres choses nous manquent à cause que la navigation n'est encore libre, les golfes étant encore remplis de glae.

De la SAXE—De Lunebourg le 24 de Mars.—Madame la Princesse Electorale se porte presentement beaucoup mieux et son medecin fait esperer que la santé de Son Altesse sera bientôt retablie. Mons d'Oberg est deja retour à Hanover de Wolfenbuttel pour mettre fin au Traite d'Union. L'hommage qui se devoit faire ici le 18 du eourant a été proroge, son Altesse Electorale ayant fait ecrire a nôtre magistrat qu'elle vouloit venir en personne pour le reeevoir. Quelques esperances que les lettres du Haut Rhin nous donnent d'une proehaine reduction de la Fortresse de Fort Louis, eelles de Franekfurth pourtant desesperent que le Marquis de Bade y reussise puisqu'il est eertain, et les lettres de Strasbourg le disent aussi, que la guarnison est pourveue de vivres encore pour 3 mois.

De BERLIN le 23 de Mars. Toutes les princes du sang se trouvent à present ici en fort bonne santé et Sa Majesté va disner, pour se divertir, aupres de ses ministres. Cependant le bruit court que Sa Majesté pourroit se remarier bientôt et eomme elle y a peu d'inclination les ministres de Suede tachent de l'y porter par leurs persuasions, dont nous verrons le suceés vers le eommeneement d'Autome proehain. On ne parle plus du voyage du roi vers Carlsbad, tous les medieins l'ayant, à ee qu'on dit, deseonseillé. Suivant les lettres de Vienne il n'y avoit encore rien de positif touchant l'armistiee projeté avec les mêeontents.

De DRESDEN le 23 de Mars. Le eourier ordinaire n'étant pas arrivé cette semaine de Lithuanie on n'a rien appris depuis huit jours que par Mons. le General Schuilenbourg qui est arrivé ici de Sa Majesté avec le charaetère de General Feldmarschal contre l'attente de tout le monde ; On dit qu'il ord . . de faire une nouvelle levée d'infanterie et instituer une inquisition exacte eontre tous qui ne se sont pas eomportés eonformement à leur devoir dans la dernière bataille. Ce General raporte que le roi avoit fait un mouvement pour se retirer vers Cracovie en attendant les Cosakkes qui doivent venir à son seeours avec de l'argent et toutes autres choses neecessaires ; qu'on y avoit reçu advis que le General Mazeppa avoit fait entrer

quelques mille chariots chargés de vivres et de fourrages à Grodno et qu'on esperoit que l'armée en pouvoit subsister jusqu'à l'arrivement du Czar qui étoit déjà en marche avec une autre armée pour la dégager. On apprend de Lusatie qu'il y arrivoit presque tous les jours des prisonniers Saxons qui se sont sauvés des mains des Suedois ; et comme il est résolu par les Etats que chaque village de cet Eleetorat, dont il y a plus de 18,000 doit fournir un homme, on espere d'avoir bientôt une autre armée de 24,000 hommes sur le pied. La monture pour 12,000 hommes d'infanterie se trouve encore à Leipsieg, les marchands n'ayant eu ordre de la livrer à la première armée que vers le 16 de ce mois. On commence aussi à faire fondre des canons dans notre arsenal et pour ce qui est de petites armes, dont nous avons manquement, on les fera venir de forges de Thuringhe. Le prince de Furstenberg est déjà entré au service de l'Empereur de sorte qu'il ne reviendra plus ici.

De LEIPSIG le 20 de Mars. Mon . . . est venu ici depuis quelques jours pour chercher à emprunter une grosse somme dont Sa Majesté a besoin mais on ne trouve personne ici disposé à s'y engager. Des avis de Warsavie et de Lithuanie disent que l'armée de Moscovie avoit fait une sortie de ses retranchements sur un détachement Suedois avec beaucoup de succès, et que le Czar s'approchant de plus en plus avec une puissante armée d'une côté et Mazeppa avec tous ses Cosaques de l'autre, a dessein de prendre l'armée de Suede entre deux feux, on croit qu'elle iroit décamper pour se retirer vers Warsavie afin de s'y joindre aux troupes de Renschild.

De STETIN le 24 de Mars. Quelques lettres de Prusse diminuent beaucoup l'avantage remporté par le Suedois sur les Moscovites sous les ordres du General Bauer et l'on assure que ce General a ordre d'éviter un autre engagement jusqu'à ce qu'il ait reçu les renforts qu'on lui fait espérer, pour ne pas hasarder d'avantage la perte du Duché de Churland.

De la SILESE. De Breslau le 22 de Mars. Les dernières lettres de Mitau mandent une nouvelle, à laquelle on n'a pas voulu ajouter foi ici à cause que celles qu'on a reçu de Pologne et du campement du General Renschild en mandent le contraire, savoir que le General Bauer ayant attaqué un gros détachement Suedois avoit été contraint de se retirer avec 2,000 hommes seulement, tous les autres l'ayant abandonné ; et que le General Suedois le poursuivoit jusques sous les canons de la ville de Mitau dans le dessein de l'assiéger et de s'en emparer.

De la PRUSSE. De Königsberg le 18 de Mars. Il n'y a point encore de positif touchant la prétendue victoire Suedoise contre les Moscovites de Churland. Suivant les lettres de Grodno, ceux-ci ont reçu un puissant secours de troupes et de provisions et attendent encore une autre convoi de 3,000 chariots avec 3 à 4 régiments d'infanterie. De Danzig le 18 de Mars. Quelques lettres particulières de Churland portent que General Bauer ayant rencontré sur sa marche vers Pultok un gros détachement

Suedois sous les ordres du General-Major Dücken en avoit tué 1000 sur la place, fait beaucoup de prisonniers, et mis le reste en fuite ; ce dont on attend la confirmation avec des particularités plus distinctes. On assure toujours que le Czar est en pleine marche vers Brezeze avec 18 à 20,000 hommes, et que son dessein est de se joindre aux Cosakkes et de gager ensuite son armée devant Grodno, soit directement ou par une puissante diversion.

De la POLOGNE et LITHUANIE. De Brezeze le 14 de Mars. Il arrive tous les jours des troupes et des chariots chargés de toutes sortes de provisions qui poursuivent incontinent leur marche vers Grodno quoique les chemins soient fort mauvais. Le bruit est grand que les Suedois sous le General Dueken ont été battus et contraints à se retirer avec beaucoup de perte mais cela merite confirmation. De Cracovie le 14 de Mars. Le roi Auguste au lieu d'aller attaquer le General de Renschild, comme il en avoit fait courir le bruit, s'est reculé avec ses troupes vers cette ville, pour y faciliter la jonction des Cosakkes que Mazeppa a ordre du Czar de lui envoyer. Le dit General a detaché 12 bataillons et autant d'esquadrons vers Brezeze pour couvrir cette place sur l'avis qu'il avoit reçu que le dessein du Roi de Suede collimoit d'y faire aller des troupes pour la bombarder. L'armée de Lithuanie se trouve déjà aux environs de cette ville et celle de la Couronne s'avance pour s'y rendre, pour être en état de pouvoir s'opposer aux Suedois en cas de besoin.

De LUBLIN le 14 de Mars. Il est arrivé ici un gentilhomme de la ville de Moscou qui rapporte que tout y étoit dans un grandissime tranquillité et que tout ce que les Suedois ont fait sparger d'une rebellion des Tartares n'étoit qu'une fable controuvée.

De CRACOVIE le 14 de Mars. Vendredi passé le roi Auguste arriva ici avec beaucoup de "Grands" ayant laissé 4,000 Moscovites aux environs de Molgosch et les troupes de Saxe avec celles de Pologne de l'autre côté de la riviere.

De POSEN le 12 dits, un parti de Saxe a massacre le Staroste Riozinsky avec 70 hommes à cause qu'il n'a pas voulu se rendre. Le General Renschild est arrivé ici avec son infanterie, les prisonniers Saxons et 29 canons.

De GRODNO le 8 de Mars. Il est arrivé ici de Brezeze 2,000 chariots chargés de provisions et le reste se trouve à Ticozyn. Les Suedois se tiennent 11 lieues d'ici et ont manquement de vivres ; et pour ce qui est de Mazeppa il n'en est éloigné que de 12 miles.

De BREZEZE le 11 de Mars. On a avis de Grodno que 3000 Suedes ont saccagé 80 terres dans le territoire de Osinkan et Lidceek et brûlé tous les maisons des gentilhommes qui font pour les Moscovites.

De WILDA le 14 de Mars. Le Prince Wiesniewiecky s'est retiré apres la petite action aupres d'Olkenik à Mincki et 2000



Suedois vinrent incontinent apres pour l'enlever. Ils cherchent à present tous les depots des Moscovites et de la noblesse dans les convents et ont pris toutes les lettres que les postes de Königsberg et de Moseau avoient apportés pour les envoyer au campement du roi de Suede. *Undated.*

## LETTERS FROM THE HAGUE AND UTRECHT.

LORD RABY to MR. SECRETARY HARLEY.

1707. You'll pardon, Sir, my curiosity to know (since Toland is to return soon from Vienna) if you admit him ever into your conversation, as he pretended to me you do when he passed lately through this place, which was the first time I ever saw him though I have heard much talk of him before. He has got a present from the Elector Palatine for a book he writ in his justification and I believe he will have one here when he returns for one he writ in the praise of this Court [Berlin.]

*Docketed by Harley.* R[ecieved] March 25, 1707.

[LORD RABY to ROBERT HARLEY.]

[1707, November.]—I cannot help acquainting you that Mr. Toland since [he] returned from Vienna has been pleased to brag to one in a high post here of your great kindness to him, which he says goes so far that you writ him word of the little note I sent you formerly about him, and what answer you sent me, adding that, could I think you would tell me the secret commission you had given him to inspect and inform himself of the behaviour of all her Majesty's ministers abroad and how they were looked upon in the several Courts where they are, I should be very sorry my character was to be given by him who is so very ignorant of all that passes here and seems to me to have but a very superficial knowledge of anything that passes in other Courts, even in that of Dusseldorf for all he has written a book to vindicate that Elector's proceedings.

Let me desire you to burn this since I was made promise never to tell him [*sic* You ?] of what he had said in this matter, but as I have really a true respect for you I would give you this advice that you may know the prejudice his reports may do you.

Since I have begun this to you I must add that Toland brought with him t'other morning a German tailor who has been in England and presented him to me as a gentleman so that I made him sit down with us ; but hearing what he was I asked Toland if he had known him long. He told me yes, and when I asked him if he knew he was a tailor, he made me answer that he knew it ; and upon my telling him that I wondered he brought him to me in that manner he did, his answer was that now in England a rich tailor was thought companion for any nobleman, and that little or no difference was made between them. This being in the King's apartment I could not answer him there as

I would, but I sent him and his tailor such a message in the afternoon as they merited. They both went away very early next morning.

I thought once to have mentioned this (and the freedoms he takes in mentioning the Queen and her ministers at home as well as abroad) in my public letter to you; but as you own that you have now and then admitted him into your company because he has read much, I shall content myself with letting you know this part of his behaviour here, and so let the matter drop unless I hear he mentions me with any disrespect, then I shall think myself obliged to expose him publicly and use him as he deserves.

[1711 ?]—I received this minute the honour of a letter from you by the hands of Mr. Lewis, by whom I take the liberty to return you my most humble thanks and to assure you that I am very sensible of all your favours whilst you were in the Office and though my time is very short in town yet I hope to find an opportunity of waiting on you to acknowledge them. I am very glad to hear from you that you never did write to that confident fellow Toland who positively averred that you had sent him a copy of what I writ to you relating to him and his pretended commission abroad: but I have reason since to believe he got that intelligence from Mr. Plantamour. My intentions were always to do the Queen and my country service, and I shall be very much pleased if it is thought I've done my duty as I should do nor am I a little proud of your approbation whose capacity is too well known for me to expatiate upon it.

[1711] April 10. The Hague. Felicitations on his escape from Guiscard's attack on him, and thanks for the part he had in transferring the writer from Berlin to his present Embassy. Would be glad of an able Secretary of Embassy, particularly Mr. [Erasmus ?] Lewis, who would come over, he believes, if asked by Harley and was sure he might keep his place in the Office too.

Will shortly trouble him with a letter about the payment of his great arrears and the settlement of his new appointments.

1711, May 5. The Hague. Unless it was upon a particular subject I should not trouble you so soon again, knowing all what passes is communicated to you by Mr. St. John, to whom I give the most punctual and exact account I can, being I am as yet, without either an English secretary or a secretary of the Embassy. The first I hope soon to have, hearing he is to come out of England; but for the latter I find it is not designed me, though I can't help, with my usual open-heartedness, saying, I do believe if her Majesty's business required any anywhere, at any time, a secretary of an Embassy, it is now and at this place, considering that I came after a predecessor who was so



far from giving me any information that he took care to send all his papers aboard that I should know nothing. The secretary of the Embassy was sent away at the same time, and my Lord Duke of Marlborough had not the time to give me the information I wanted.

The design of this letter is to mention to you at the desire of one of this Republic, the same thing as I do by this post to the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Secretary St. John, that there was a design formed here and in England for the sending M. Buys over, or some other, to complain of the ill state of affairs in this Republic, and that they were not able to carry the war on any longer; upon which, I was informed, those in England who were in the secret were to take a pretence of concerting a peace with France on much more reasonable terms than what has hitherto been talked of. This, as I tell the Duke of Shrewsbury, I should have kept to myself, till it had been thought necessary I should have meddled in it; but one M. Duvenvorden, whose character is not unknown to you, came to me, and amongst other discourse, after we had been disposing of kingdoms and principalities, he told me of this very project I heard before, and because I made as if I had known nothing of it, he confirmed it with oaths and protestations, and as we had been old friends and acquaintance he told me he would open his heart to me; which was, he was sorry to see they had formed such a project, since the true way for peace was to concert with the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, who was now as much for peace as possible, and desired nothing more than to concert with the new ministers; and that he (Duvenvorden) would be the first of any who would be entrusted with overtures from France, and that though they were reported to be friends of those who were for carrying on the war, yet they were not blind to their infirmities, and knew well whose interest it was to carry on the war, and whose to have peace; and if you three would through me trust them with her Majesty's intentions for a peace from time to time, they would on their side enter heartily and faithfully into any measures should be thought convenient; and that if I would write to the Duke of Shrewsbury, you, and Mr. St. John, I might assure you the Pensionary's intentions were right, and he very desirous for a peace, and if I pleased it should only go through our hands without being known either to the D—— of M—— or Princee Eu——, if it was thought convenient, till it was too far gone for them to obstruct it.

He gave me to understand that the Pensionary could not speak to me himself, yet he would have an obligation to me if I would propose it thus to you. Your reflections on this and your penetration go so infinitely further than mine that I dare make no reflections upon it, so shall wait with impatience your answer. I will only add that, besides the character I have heard of his being well with the Pensionary, I have met him several times with him; and after this conversation I asked the Pensionary

in a manner that he might know what I meant how far the friendship between him and M. Duvenvorden went, and I could perceive by his countenance and answer that Duvenvorden had not spoken to me without his instructions ; and so I shall wait for yours, and you may depend not only on my fidelity but that I will only stir in it as I am directed from you three.

I saw Prince Eugene this morning who seems extremely pleased with what the Queen and States have done in favour of King Charles, but with all his precaution he let fall that at any rate the Court at Vienna would have King Charles out of Spain, and that my Lord Peterborough was so warm for it that they believe it is done by this time, if the admirals will obey his Lordship's orders ; but that is a consideration, I am sure, is well weighed by you, and if you had time I should be glad to know your sentiments upon it.

I have it from so many several hands that the Prince of Wales is going to Britain that I know not what to think of it, though there are no ships ready to carry him, nor not men enough in any port of France for such an enterprise, but I send my intelligence as I get it to Mr. Secretary St. John.

We hear nothing more yet from Lorraine, and though the Elector of B—— still seems fond of coming over to us, with his pretended neutrality yet I think we ought not to trust him only to disturb our election, which else seems in a fair way of going quietly on.

#### LORD RABY to the LORD TREASURER.

1711, June 20. The Hague. Though Prince Eugene and the whole body of the States General wait and have sent twice for me yet I can't let the post pass without sending my most sincere and most hearty congratulation on the justice the Queen has done your Lordship's merit and I beg you to believe the most eloquent in their compliments have not half the true satisfaction I have in your Lordship's promotion.

Would my time permit me I would add my most humble thanks for the favour you have shown me in promoting the title the Queen has been pleased to promise me, and at the same time giving your Lordship my reasons why I could have wished it had been done before my arrival ; but as I will leave this place to-morrow or next day I hope to have the honour myself to thank you.

#### LORD RABY to [the EARL OF OXFORD.]

1711, June 29. London. Pressing for payment of the arrears due to him.

I need not repeat how great the difficulties are of a foreign minister unpaid, who must live at a vast expense with little or no credit, and taking up ready money on one's own estate is what is both inconvenient and disreputable ; and your

Lordship knows the necessities of the Hague are greater than anywhere else, and that was the reason that Lord Townsend was always paid much forwarder than the rest of the ministers, not only during his friends' the Junto's reign, but since your Lordship's happy coming into the Treasury.

The only excuse I have heard for the ill payment is that the expense of foreign ministers is of late risen extremely. All I shall say to that is, that when your Lordship gives yourself the trouble to look into that expense you will find one third of it might have been saved. When a pretty fellow was to be provided for it had been better doing it with some place at home of two or three hundred pounds a year than throwing away two or three thousand a year abroad in making him an Envoy, &c. Public business would have been better done with fewer ministers, well chosen and well paid, which would have made men of the greatest abilities solicit those employments.

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to the LORD TREASURER.

1711, October <sup>26</sup>/<sub>15</sub>. The Hague.—In making use of the liberty you have given me I will avoid what I can repeating anything contained in my long relation, which will be laid before your Lordship.

Pensionary Heinsius received your compliments with all the marks of true satisfaction, and professes the greatest respect for you imaginable, did justice to your merit and showed a great inclination to embrace the honour of your friendship, and this I must say in his behalf, if there appears an obstinacy in these people not agreeing immediately with the Queen's measures, I am satisfied he is not the cause, however he may be deeply dipped with those engaged with that party in England, who are for frustrating any great thing you shall undertake; for I had it from one of his greatest enemies that he made his report of what I had told him to the States of Holland with all the seeming impartiality imaginable; but the cry was artificially spread amongst them that England was jealous of their strength and had engaged underhand with the French not to allow them any barrier, though I had in the Queen's name declared she designed them a just and reasonable one. By this they caught all the peace-makers; roaring out that he would be an enemy to their country who would be for losing all the hopes of recompense they had for this war in their Barrier; and who could be for a peace when they were not sure of that nor of their commerce. Even Buys himself was so alarmed at this that he told me, in the heat of his discourse, that there was not a man in the Republic would give his consent to send packets for the French Plenipotentiaries till they were first assured of their Barrier and commerce.

There is no doubt but they are likewise apprehensive of another convention between the French and us which does not appear, and that "wise-acre" is to find it out. In his stories



to me of the transactions of the former preliminaries Buys owned that he was the dupe, and made to break off the treaty when he thought it had to be kept on foot. I bid him take care he was not again duped, and they having intelligenec with those in England, did not wish him well, and those who were for keeping up the war would make him the catspaw to do their work. I told him of the cabals I had observed since I came hither amongst the warriors party, advised him to take ample instructions and to be cautious he was not made to cry out aloud against what he may truly wish for.

I have pushed the matter with all becoming warmth that they ought to comply with the Queen's demands, consent to send passports and then consult with her Majesty to settle their pretensions; and have declared if they did not the Queen and her ministers would not be baffled, but would send passports for them to come to England. I told them they were mistaken in thinking the Queen could not make a separate peace without the Emperor and the States; that in three weeks or a month the Parliament was to meet who would willingly address the Queen to make what peace she thought fit, and as her allies had no regard to her remonstrances in peace nor war she should have that regard to her subjects to make the best peace she could.

Though this way of talking has not had its immediate effect, yet I am sure it has made them so cautious that your Lordship will have their proceedings much in your power, for if you seem resolute and that you will stand firmly to the measures you have taken they will so far comply that you may dispose of their pretensions; and having told them plainly what barrier the Queen thinks sufficient for them, and please them in their tariff, which may be sent to France for confirmation, they will come into any measures the Queen pleases. But before it comes to this you must expect they will fawn and try all ways to amuse and if possible to break off this negotiation, which would be fatal; for I am satisfied, let them say what they will, it would not be three weeks before they, or the Imperialists, would take up a new one, and we in England be the dupes.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R[ecieved] Octo. 23. Eight days.

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1711. <sup>November 3.</sup>  
<sup>October 23.</sup>—The Hague.—I dare hardly trust one letter by the common post, since I have very good reason to be assured the curiosity of these people leads them to open all our letters, wherefore I take the opportunity of sending this by Brigadier Capell who is one I must take the liberty to recommend to your Lordship's favour, and who will very well deserve it, he is a very old acquaintance of mine and one I have always esteemed, though he has not met in Spain with that justice he might very well have expected, but having desired me to

recommmend him to your Lordship he is entirely satisfied that under your Lordship's protection (if you will do him and me the favour to grant it him), he shall be entirely safe, and happy for the future, as your Lordship may likewise depend upon his steady adherenee to your interest, for without I thought that I am sure I would not reecommend the dearest friend I had to you, nor could they be a very dear friend to me who wanted that qualification of esteeming and adhering to the interest of so great and deserving a Minister as well as one to whom I have so many obligations, as I shall always faithfully acknowledge I have to your Lordship.

Buys having by this time laid amply before you all he has to say relating to his Commission from this State, I need add but little where I am sure the deepest penetration has discovered the true designs and intentions of this State but only relate a point which being matter of fact you could not be informed of but from your humble servant which is that Count Gallas sent an Express over immediately with the letter Lord Dartmouth sent him in answer to his upon the communication of the preliminaries, and at the same time he does all he can to alarm his master to suspect our proceedings and to take care of himself either by some immediate agreement with France, or else by some intrigue to overturn these measures if the Emperor follows the first project that he is able to do by the means of priests more elosely and seeretly than any other of our allies can, but I do not question your Lordship's consummate prudence has already taken care to prevent with the French ministers, as well as you will be more able to prevent the second as you have that party they chiefly hope their assistance from entirely under your thumb : in the meantime nothing is wanting on the part of the Imperial ministers here to incite and provoke all the ministers of our several allies to ery down at a strange rate Her Majesty's proceedings in this matter and that in conjunction with the great ery self interest makes in this Province you may easily believe what discourse this town is full of, and though indeed in my presenee they dare do no other than at worst to hold their tongues of it yet before my Seeretary and others of my family they speak sometimes so scandalously of it that he is forced to use them in such a manner that personal apprehension alone silenees them, nor is it yet any but my own family that openly vindicates this matter, except the Duke of Savoy's minister the Marquis Delbourg, who at the same time lets me understand that is but till such time he sees what his master is ready to expeet and seems under terrible apprehensions for the situation of his master's affairs if left to shift for himself between two implaeable enemies the Emperor and French king and he has thoroughly convineed me that both in honour and policy the Queen ought to take particuar care of his pretensions in this conjuncture, and all this Minister desires is to know really what it is Her Majesty thinks fit to do for him and protests that

though it is less than his expectations yet if the Queen has that goodness to declare it openly and freely to him that he may take his measures he will be entirely attached to her interest and will in any manner of way act to promote the conclusion of these measures Her Majesty has entered into for a general peace though it should be opposed by all the rest of the allies. I have promised to write that he shall have the satisfaction he desires not only to have his assistance in supporting in his discourse everywhere what is done, but likewise finding that having communicated to Count Maffei the separate article stipulated in favour of his master these Italian Ministers naturally draw inferences that the same separate article is drawn up for every ally so that the Treaty will be but *pro forma* the Queen and French having already determined what each shall have. Your Lordship will easily see what influence such a discovery as this would have.

I must here inform your Lordship that these Foreign Ministers are wonderfully well informed of all our transactions in England and have shown me some things I knew not of before and others I thought the greatest secret.

It would be presumption for me to say to you how necessary resolution and dispatch is in this great work and that considering if the Dutch could be satisfied all the rest must be so and are not worth minding since each of them are satisfied of the others unreasonable pretensions. These three points are worth your Lordship's consideration as first if means could not be found to bring the French to consent to have the Congress in the Province of Holland, being that alone would make things pretty easy especially amongst the common people and the city of Amsterdam who are really warm for peace, and this Province has such a sway on the rest that what they approve of the others do of course besides that, here difficulties of ceremonies will be settled by the precedents of the last Congress, which it can't be in any other place without a mediator.

The next is if possible to show them the Barrier France will with us consent they shall have and if we obtain for them the . . . of . . . it is all they desire and then the Queen may lead them as she pleases and all the cry of our leaving our dear friends and allies the Republic of Holland will cease of course.

Pensionary Heinsius in his discourse I had with him yesterday assured me with great asseverations that he was entirely and heartily for the peace nay that he knew there was an absolute necessity of peace this winter which he would not that the enemy knew, and that he desired me for God's sake to assure the ministers in England that he was heartily and sincerely for their continuation at the head of the affairs, for said he 'tis most certain that a confusion in England will be the ruin of our State and we are now assured that the other party can't come in again till all things are brought into confusion therefore did we wish the other party ever so well yet for our own sakes we



would do nothing to help their designs to the prejudice of this present Ministry. I need not repeat the many assurances of respect and esteem he again assured me he had for your Lordship and the letters your Lordship has honoured him with has assured him of your good intentions for him and the good of this Republic which puts him out of all manner of doubt on that point. It shall be my study to improve this good understanding between two such great Ministers for the mutual good of both nations, for I must own to your Lordship that I have a very great opinion of Pensionary Heinsius, though it is impossible for me or any one that knows you to have one equal to that you merit nor is it possible for any man to be with truer esteem and respect than I am, &c.

[P.S.] To save your Lordship the trouble of another letter give me leave once more to beg you to order any sort of payment for my extraordinaries.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Nov. 16 from Mons. Lepel. Twenty-four days.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD TO THE EARL OF OXFORD.

1711, <sup>December 1.</sup>/<sub>November 20.</sub> The Hague.—Nothing could be more agreeable than the kind and obliging expressions in your Lordship's letter of the <sup>18</sup>/<sub>27</sub> past, and as I prize extremely the honour of your Lordship's good opinion, so it shall be my study, by my actions to deserve it : I am sensible of all the obligations I have to you, which confirms the just character given you of being a true friend to those you profess a kindness for and who rely upon you, as I do assure your Lordship I do, and will entirely, for however before I went into England I might have been made believe my obligations were divided between your Lordship and another, I am now convinced they are entirely due to your Lordship ; and being so, your Lordship may depend, I am entirely yours ; and as much so, as any man can be another's. Wherefore nothing can be more agreeable to me than to see the success of my endeavours approved of by your Lordship, 'tis so great an encouragement to me, that I shall continue with my utmost ability and diligence, to promote whatever is your Lordship's sentiments, when you will confide in me and honour me with letting me know them. 'Tis undoubtedly for the good of our country, for the glory of the Queen, for the safety and reputation of your Ministry, that we shall have the Dutch to come in with your measures ; and I hope we shall take the best, the conjuncture will allow, to satisfy the rest of our allies and as your Lordship will see in my relation to Mr. St. John the answer the King of Prussia has sent the Emperor ; I hope I may have some assurance to give that Prince of Her Majesty's satisfaction on his way of proceeding and that she will have a most special regard to his interest, and particularly that she will see his Ministers should be received at the Congress as

Ministers of a Crowned head, which is conformable to our Treaties and which will rivet that King to Her Majesty's interest, and perhaps we may think fit even after a peace, to make some fresh alliance with him, as he is the chiefest and most powerful Protestant Prince of the Empire.

Portugal must at least have those eight towns stipulated by their Treaty with us, and indeed if the Duke of Anjou must continue in Spain it would be for the common interest if we could get France to allow a town or two more to make the Barrier of Portugal more secure as for the Duke of Savoy, if we can't get for him what we would from France, at least we might enlarge his territories in the Milanese for whatever was before to be considered that taking from the House of Austria was lessening the merit of the Queen's actions for them, is now no more binding, since the Emperor in his letters to this State, and to the Princes of the Empire has so rashly, and so ungratefully, accused and arraigned the measures taken by the Queen even before he knew what they were; for the Emperor's first and strongest letter to this State, was writ before any of the Preliminaries were signed. So now what augmentation is given from the Emperor to the Duke of Savoy may turn to a good account, and really is in some measure just, since we are by our Treaty with him obliged not to let any third Prince step in between his right to the succession of the entire monarchy of Spain; for all that is binding to us in relation to the restitution of the entire monarchy of Spain, is this article, I have now mentioned in our Treaty with the Duke of Savoy, and the engagements we are under to the King of Portugal in our treaty with him, that we shall not make peace as long as Philip is on the throne of Spain, and that Spain and the Indies shall be restored to King Charles, so that if these two Princes are satisfied with those equivalents I have mentioned, and which I know will satisfy them, as their Ministers here have assured me we shall then have executed to the rigour all our engagements to our allies being I take it, that already this State will be satisfied with what will be done for their Barrier and Commerce; and though they talk much of a greater; the Empire must be satisfied if they have the Barrier stipulated for them in the former preliminaries, as I suppose is now designed them. By this means our allies being amply satisfied, it will not only be for the honour of the Queen and her Ministry but much to our advantage if ever our nation should have again occasion for the assistance of allies.

Monsieur Buys seems by his last letters to be pretty well satisfied and has writ word by next post he hopes to send an agreeable particular account of their Barrier and Commerce, for which they are here very impatient and all (except the Emperor) seems to submit entirely to the Queen.

I showed the postscript of your Lordship's letter to Monsieur Reed, who good man, was wonderfully overjoyed, begged me

to send your Lordship from him millions of thanks, though he believes he shan't live to enjoy that favour long: for he is now very ill of a colic and has been so for some days. He begged of me to take great care to blot out the postscript, that it might not be known to anyone here; which I did, before I showed the other part of your Lordship's letter to the Pensionary, who was no less pleased than the other, and making a low bow when he read your compliment to him desired I would return his in the best manner to your Lordship who he always extremely honoured and admired. He seems much pleased with the hopes of the continuation of a good union between the two nations, and says he depends upon your Lordship's good intentions to preserve it. That no time might be lost, I desired him to recommend to the States the choice of their Plenipotentiary of which he has made his report, and I am informed they have sent to their respective Provinces not only for instructions on that point, but likewise, that they may have full powers to agree to several others, that may arise upon the next despatches from England, so that they may not lose time in sending for the consent of their Provinces on every particular point. I shall take all care I can to forward everything here that no unnecessary delay may be made in the future negotiation of Peace, which is all the hopes now left the Emperor, and those who out of private interest are for the continuation of the war.

I am assured the Imperial ministers inveigh more now against the Pensionary of this State than they did before against the Queen and her ministers, being this State will not tell them what resolution they have taken, though they know very well that they have taken one conformable to the Queen's measures, and have sent their passports in blank. The other Princes of the Empire will be embarrassed if the Congress should be anywhere else than at the Hague being on the one hand, they would have a mind to assist at it, and on the other they can't send their Plenipotentiaries without disobliging the Emperor, whereas if the Treaty was here at the Hague, every Prince has his Minister already, and even the Emperors could not help assisting: but this is a consideration I formerly laid before your Lordship.

Before I end I must in particular return my most humble thanks to your Lordship for your kind answer about my equipage money and my plate, which if I had received before, I should not have entered into so particular a detail of my circumstances, as I have done to Mr. St. John, desiring him to lay it before your Lordship. My demands is what I shall most certainly want, and what is warranted by precedents on the like occasion; but I am now satisfied in that matter, since I have had the honour of your kind and obliging answer in your last letter, but I must beg your Lordship's pardon if I again put you in mind of my extra extraordinary which was by special order, and why the late Lord Treasurer postponed it



God and he alone knows for I certainly have the same right to that as to the rest of my appointments. However as I have formerly told your Lordship I should be glad to receive them in any tallies you think fit, and shall add that, to the other great obligations I have to your Lordship which shall ever be most faithfully acknowledged by &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Nov. 25. Five days.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1711, <sup>December 4.</sup><sub>November 23.</sub> The Hague.—To avoid repeating anything in my relation to Mr. St. John I shall only tell your Lordship that the Queen's messenger, who I sent with an account of the resolution taken by the States to send to Buys the passports which was pursuant to my instructions, besides knowing what intrigues are upon the anvil, as well by the Emperor as these people, I thought the sooner the French had notice this State had entirely submitted themselves to the Queen's pleasure was the better, being that then the French would not leave the method they were in with her to join with any separate one which could not be so sure as this to promote a general peace, but which might have been made at our expense, so that I don't doubt of your Lordship's approbation in this point and in all others I strive to bend my thoughts and behaviour entirely to what I think your Lordship's true design and inclination he (the messenger) tells me the misery is very great in France, and that he saw several quantities of dead horses on the road, &c., but I believe he passed where our camp was as well as the enemy's and so thought the number the greater. I have bid him take no notice where he has been, and don't much apprehend he should since he speaks no language but English, he had some discourse with an Irishman, the Marquis de Torcy gave him for an interpreter who talked foolish Jacobite stuff to him as all those poor people do.

People seem well pleased since Mr. Buys' last letters and hopes for much more satisfaction from his next, the Republican party here are entirely for peace and are mighty pressing I should let them print my long letter to the Pentionary, of which I sent Mr. St. John a copy, being it was that determined them to give the resolution they did and sign the passports, but as I really writ that letter in haste and am not entirely master of French I do not care it should be published; though it is very true the Party here have let all other papers on t'other side be known; excepting this letter which they have kept so secret that I am told there was thirty pistoles offered by a Foreign Minister to get a copy of it, but I submit that as well as everything else to your Lordship's better judgment. I have set them now intriguing for being the Plenipotentiaries of this Republic which is what employs them at present till Buys' next letters come over.

The Emperor is very restless and knows not what Party to take, I hope he will receive many such answers as the King of Prussia's is for he must at last comply and I hope we shall find means to satisfy the Duke of Savoy and King of Portugal, and then as I have said to Mr. St. John the Queen and your Lordship come off with entire honour in this negociation since no engagements about Spain are so strong as that to those two, for it never could be thought the Emperor's vast views could be complied with ; our Grand Alliance does not oblige us to it, and besides by the death of the late Emperor all former engagements about Spain cease as the circumstances are entirely changed.

It is an honour to be abused in good company so I take the liberty to send you a copy of this scandalous paper which I am informed was pretty openly handed about at Berlin writ I suppose by some one to the States Minister there, who is a malicious poor tool of the Party for war, and one who being employed to play tricks against me when I was at that Court, I do own, I did use twice or thrice very scurvily, that he durst not pretend to hold up his head at that Court whilst I was there. How true the accusations against me are your Lordship is judge. I am glad all these malicious things only serve to prove that I am ranked as an humble servant of yours, and that you may see upon what foot I have put myself and fortune in which I am so well pleased and so fully resolved to continue that I once more assure you I depend entirely upon your favour.

*Enclosure.*—1711, le 17<sup>e</sup> Novembre, à la Haye.

Les étranges et mauvaises procédés du present Ministère de la Grande Bretagne causent une surprise, qui surpasse l'imagination. On n'ose pas dire tout ce qu'on sait. Le Comte de Strafford demande qu'on accorde un Congres Général de Paix avec une opiniâtreté et fierté au delà de celle que jamais la France dans la plus haute élévation a faite. Il n'a traité cet Etat, que comme des gens subordonnés, en disant, qu'ils devaient être sages, et ne pas faire les reveches et en donnant les Passeports necessaires aux Plenipotentiaires de France, s'ils vouloient que la Reine tachat d'obtenir le Congres à la Haye. Il doit aussi avoir dit, que ce serait manquer de respect, et de s'exposer à une juste indignation de la Reine, si l'on osait seulement temoigner la moindre marque de doute de sa bonne foi, de ses bonnes intentions. L'on suppose que ces étranges et chaudes violences sont soufflées par la France, qui est à cette heure l'appui et le soutien de deux Hommes en Angleterre, qui ne sacrifient pas seulement les Libertés de toute l'Europe en général, mais aussi celle de leur propre Patrie, après tant des héroïques declarations de la Reine à ses Peuples, et à ses Parlements, après ses lettres au feu l'Empereur, et au présent, et à cet Etat aussi bien que ces Traités avec tous ses Alliés.

Monsieur Buys a fait voir au Ministère Britanique les originaux des Lettres, et autres Papiers de la France, relative-

ment aux Negociations faites à la Haye et à Gertrudenberg, par où Elle supposoit toujours la restitution de la Monarchie d'Espagne. Mais on a été sourd à toutes eettes sages remontrances, et il n'a eu pour toute reponse, qu'on se rapportait aux ordres, qu'on donnoit au Comte de Strafford, qu'il y aura un Congres pour la Paix, sans pouvoir dire la manière, dont il se fera n'y jusques à quel point le succès en sera fatal. L'on est iei dans une consternation inexprimable, car on prevoit clairement la ruine de cette République dans peu d'années sans voir aucun remede, si ce n'est, que le bon Dieu change la meehante disposition du cœur de Ministère Anglais, ou que le Peuple s'eleve contre ces Proceedés infames. On attend donc Mr. Buys de retour dans peu. L'affront fait au Comte de Gallas Ministre de l'Empereur en Angleterre est contenu dans les nouvelles publiques. Ce Minister a voulu selon son devoir s'opposer à l'opiniatreté du Ministère Anglais pour un Congrès de Paix, et voilà ee que lui a attiré ee mauvais traitement. Cela fait voir, que ces pernieieux Ministres se marquent de tous les Allies, puisqu'ils sont asteur d'intelligence avec la France.

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1711, <sup>December 8.</sup><sub>November 27.</sub> The Hague.—I was glad to receive this letter from Monsieur de Leir to give me a fresh pretence of repeating my humble duty and acknowledgements to your Lordship for all your favours. I have told Mr. Seeretary St. John in my relation, ingeniously how I was drawn in to make an extemporary speech and doubt not but from your Lordship's goodness not only to be exeused to yourself for all omissions, but that you will do it in other places where you think it necessary. Your Lordship will at first think it arrogance in me to say I am satisfied with my own behaviour since I came over hither but that really proeeeds from a just diffidence I have of my own capacity to carry on, and to promote one of the greatest works that could be trusted to a single subject, and that so much alone, that I had not one single man here, with whom I could advise, or have the least assistance from; nor in this point could I make difficulties only to solve them; the rage and opposition was seen the very day of my landing, and carried round Europe in the most violent and seurrilous manner possible and a certain great man who was pleased to say formerly (because he saw I would not be his creature) that I pretended difficulties often where there was none, was now a witness of them, whilst he was here; which I have but too much reason to believe he strove to make greater rather than to lessen them, as he would have made me believe. I had not been six weeks with this Republie before I was called to England, so had not time enough to study the characters and yet 'tis generally thought by the changing the sentiments of so many chief Ministers in the State, that I had distributed great sums



of money amongst them. Your Lordship knows how much I have spent in secret service for the Queen, since I have been employed for her unless it was out of my own pocket though I must take the liberty to mention to your Lordship a certain woman of a Post at Rotterdam, who has ever since the first cry of the Prince of Wales going over to Britain this spring, stopped and opened all the letters of the Jacobites, and though hitherto there have been few of any great consequence, yet it may come she may hereafter stop letters of much more consequence, and there is this further reason why she should have a gratuity, because I know it is suggested to those others here concerned with her that we wish well to the Pretender, and that though it is true we cannot well forbid her opening any more letters, yet she may be sure she will receive no recompense from the present Ministry for what she does. There was likewise a certain malicious, witty, woman, who writes a paper called the *Quintessence des Nouvelles*, I sent her once a little present of some few dueats by my servant, only to keep her from exercising her satire against our proceedings, it had so good an effect that she writ several of her papers in our justification, one of which she sent me in a letter and said as she was the only, at least the first writer, that had taken our part, she desired I would send her paper to England, which I did and a small sum would satisfy her who pretends she has suffered for what she has writ, I know she had formerly a pension from the Imperialists.

We have indeed gained the chief point, but must take care we are not baffled in the working to a conclusion ; I see our enemies flatter themselves we shall be, and our friends are extremely down o' th' mouth since Buys' last letters, they say they are the sacrifices of my persuasions, that if no barrier, or one as good as none, is designed them, they shall be looked upon as betrayers of their country ; and nothing is more certain than if I had not pressed them by my letter to the Pensionary as I did, and other ways personally which forced them hastily into the steps they have taken, they would not have come into it by this time, nor never, till they had first seen what Barrier they were to have, and what commerce was designed them. Our friends, and those the most for peace repent what they have done, and it is certain those for the continuance of the war triumph over them, and tell them they are my dupes, and are sacrificed to an English Ministry, enemy to their Republic, but I have again assured them they shall find the contrary (that this Ministry as they call your Lordship's administration) is full as much inclined to their good as the former, and that they will find you will procure them as sure a Barrier, if not just the same as in Lord Townshend's treaty. Monsieur Goslinga who is famous for having been always the fighting deputy in the Army, and is lately disgusted at Lord Marlborough, and who upon the turn of affairs, went to Frieze where he has great credit, and got them to give their Resolution for peace,

which was what helped extremely to forward the resolution in the rest ; was with me yesterday morning with tears in his eyes, lamenting the ruin of his country, and his own misfortune since he should be reviled and answerable for what he had done in his province, he protested to me he had not slept all night, he apprehended that *Lisle* was to be given up from them, and many other places, I believe it could not but be of service, for me to know in *gros* what is designed them, since we must assure our friends, or else we may still find a troublesome piece of work. I sent him away satisfied and assured him he and the whole Republic would soon have reason to be so, that the rule and system your Lordship had laid down, was to get out of this war with as good conditions as we could, and that above all things to obtain ample satisfaction for all the Allies except the Emperor, who, he and all impartial men must see, was not to be satisfied without we would run ourselves and posterity into inevitable ruin to do it.

I really take this to be the true plan your Lordship has laid down and that you will do all you can this Republic should be satisfied, and that you would have them so satisfied that they may join heartily in promoting the peace with you, and in preserving it after it is made, which is a thing necessary to be done before the Treaty of Peace is signed, for after that is signed nothing is to be expected more from the Allies, they reckon the confederacy broken and each is desirous to be on the best foot they can with France, so that a defensive treaty of guarantee, of the Execution of the part of France is not only necessary to be made out of hand with the Queen and the States, but with all the Allies ; for I own I am one of those that still believe the least we trust to the *bonne foi* of France the best, and if it was possible to get out of this war, so that we might preserve the good-will of our Allies, it was extremely to be wished. I remember some of the reasons given me at the conference of the Cabinet Council for aggrandizing the Duke of Savoy, and I likewise remember some of my reasons then against it, which are now quite changed first the necessity that we have of showing a gratitude to some of our allies and that none has deserved it better than the Duke of Savoy, for from the beginning his ministers has been almost the only one who have not taken pains to cry down the Queen's measures ; then formerly I thought that the obligations this Emperor had personally to the Queen would have always imprinted an obligation, and acknowledgment in him and that taking the Duchy of Milan from him would be destroying at once all that gratitude he ought to have had, and which would have given the Queen some influence over him, and that she might have made use of that influence to have secured him from attempting anything against the Duke of Savoy if we had not left that Prince in a posture to defend himself but now the first letter of the Emperor

and what he said to Mr. Chetwynd shows we must expect his resentment instead of gratitude and that no ties but satisfying his unbounded views can bind him ; that he would be glad to revenge himself somewhere, and the most convenient would be the Duke of Savoy to tear back from him what he has given him by treaty and guaranteed by England and Holland, but when we are disarmed what use will that guarantee be to his R. H. if he is not able to stop the great power of the Emperor in Italy ; shall he call the French to his aid, that would be bringing the wolf into his fold to save his sheep ; no my lord, 'tis conformable now both to the Queen's honour and interest to leave that Prince in a posture to support himself and to go further, when we shall assist him by sea ; we can make good use of him to support several views we may hereafter have in the Mediterranean and the Emperor will be still a great and formidable Prince in Italy, if we take from the Milanese and leave him the Duchy of Cremona and he has behind that, Mantua and Comachia, the towns on the coasts of Tuscany and the Kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, and in time of peace the Duke of Savoy will be always armed and awake to hinder the growing power of France, whilst the Austrians would make those territories of no use to themselves nor the common good. If once I am assured 'tis the Queen's and your Lordship's sentiments to get the Duchy of Milan, as I believe it is, for the Duke of Savoy, I believe the means to obtain it will be easily found. I ought to ask your Lordship's pardon being so long on this point which I have often writ amply to Mr. Secretary upon, but I wish we might come off with the honour of having established a true balance in Europe and having satisfied all our Allies which I believe is easy according to our engagements. This would thoroughly satisfy the Duke of Savoy to whom we are engaged not to let any third Prince step between him, and his right of succession to the entire monarchy of Spain, and for the other engagements we have to the King of Portugal that we should never leave Philip nor any Prince of France on the throne of Spain ; a town or two in Galicia and Estremadura will entirely satisfy that King, as an equivalent to our engagement on the other head ; besides that a security to Lisbon and Portugal can't but be of great advantage to our commerce hereafter, if any King of Spain should forget himself so far as to join and let the measures of France govern him, and those two being the only engagements of this kind we have with any of our Allies they are worth of our most mature consideration. As for France the way to bring them to agree to what we propose is to tell them plainly they see the Queen's inclination for peace, they promised she should execute her engagements to all her Allies, and she can't come off with honour without France agrees positively and clearly to such and such points, that to chican and marchandise is to lose time, and assist the designs of those for carrying on the war, and in short to tell France agree to this



and this here is your peace made and we will ask no more, show them at the same time that every day fortifies our enemy that we are obliged to give in with them, to recruit our troops, to fill our magazines and to be at the expense of the next campaign, and when that expense is once made they the French may be assured many who would be for the peace now to save the expense would be then for trying the success of another campaign, that the project of those for keeping on the war is so finely laid in appearance, that France must be more put to it than ever to defend themselves and will have armies in their bowels, and when that is once beginning to be put in execution who can desire or talk of peace, till the effect of that campaign is seen. This argument must take with France, since certainly the French apprehend another campaign, and the Dauphin is violently bent for peace, and not risking any more for the chican of a place or two, especially if we ask it from Spain, and Italy which is not clipping any more from the crown of France, which is all his study to preserve as large as he can, whatever becomes of his brother. They made a great noise here that Mr. Sweet should have said your Lordship would return no more money for forage being there was no need for it but he writ me a letter to justify the contrary, and showed me 'twas the malice of his enemy, for they have set up a paymaster to oppose him at Antwerp and yet this Sweet has always acted to the satisfaction of all the English Army. I mention this because I would know in confidence your Lordship's sentiments, that I might govern myself by them, since I am of opinion that till we are entirely sure of the French we ought to fill our magazines, and prepare our recruits, as if no talk of a peace was, which would justify us to our allies, and make the French much more reasonable than if they found we abandoned ourselves to their *bonne foi*. By this means we shall still keep the Emperor in hopes of a breach of the negociation of peace, and so from taking his party alone with France; and we can always threaten France with turning again to the Emperor if they chican with us. I enclose your Lordship a letter from old Monsieur de Leir who is wonderfully obliged to your Lordship and you may now dispose of him and his family as you please; but I am begged by all his relations that your Lordship does not take the least notice of him or your goodness to him, to Monsieur Buys, who is suspected for all the eloquence he boasts of by both parties here.

The three Plenipotentiaries the Dutch seem to have pitched upon already are those who have been the most for peace; those who will carry their speculations very deep, say they are chose to have them from being in the States General, who must give their directions to their Plenipotentiaries so that by their absence the Party for the war will be so much stronger in the Government here, and that they may be the sacrifice if they can bring the people to think the peace is not as advantageous as they might expect, &c.

This comes of your Lordship's kind encouragement to me to write to you ; I am satisfied I have been too long but could not tell how to break off sooner, since I take the liberty to write down my thoughts as they come into my head, and imagining your Lordship will let the greatness of your station give way to that of a friend, whilst I am writing and you are afterwards reading the letters from one that is with the greatest sincerity and utmost respect, &c.

[P.S.] Once more I recommend myself and pretensions to your Lordship's protection. Let me only add I am to give at the cheapest 600*l.* for a house at Utrecht and am obliged to keep this house for two years at the rate of 700*l.* a year besides other vast expenses, keeping two houses will be to me for the necessity of affairs will require my presenee now and then here I believe during the negociation.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Dec. 2. Five days.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD to the LORD TREASURER.

1711, December  $\frac{12}{7}$ . The Hague.—Knowing the source of Prince Eugene's being sent to England, I send an express to England on purpose, for I apprehend the effects of his voyage, and am glad to advertise your Lordship before-hand of it, and that the Pensionary has protested to me that unless he had orders to take measures for the Emperor's entering into the Congress, or to settle in England a reasonable portion of the Spanish monarchy for the house of Austria, he is of opinion and has told the Emperor's minister here so, that he had better not take that voyage.

Mr. Secretary's private letter by misfortune is so blotted that I believe he will hardly show it your Lordship, so give me leave to send you the character I sent him in haste of Prince Eugene, which is impartially what I think of him setting aside his great qualifications as general.

P.S.—Mons. Sinzedin the Emperor's envoy here told me and the Pensionary to-day for certain the Prince was designed for England if the Queen did not oppose it. He is expected here in a few days.

*Enclosure.* Copy of part of Lord Strafford's letter to Mr. St. John.

*Docketed by Oxford.* R. Dec. 4. Three days.

1711, December  $\frac{18}{7}$ . The Hague.—Prince Eugene is come as I sent you word he would, though the Pensionary would make me believe he would have hindered him. You will see by my relation what discourse I had with him this morning, and since he has taken that (ply ?) I more apprehend him than if they had followed their more obstinate one. Be assured he is all artifice and what is worse he will advance things that are not actually so, he will name regiments that are not in the armies

he mentions them. I thought I did right to keep him as long as I could on this side, till the Parliament address was given, and your Lordship sees that matter a little settled. Galas does all he can to persuade him over immediately, but I think to keep him till your answer comes, for I doubt you will be embarrassed with him. The old gentleman here told me 'For God's sake take him from amongst us, he does but spoil us?' I asked him if he thought he would do less mischief, amongst us at the opening of a Session, "Oh," says he, 'on that consideration let him rather stay here where he can do not so much mischief as with you.'

He was an hour and a half yesterday with the Pensionary on his first coming, and is in continual consultations with those here for the continuation of the war, and all their project is gaining of time, which we must strive to hinder. I am afraid that that project of Buys's sent into France was only to gain time, and all his propositions are but to amuse and form insurmountable difficulties to break all; all his letters are better liked by those who are for the continuation of the war than those for peace. I don't question you will never let them wrest this treaty out of your hands for to be sure next minute they will conclude it in their own, which is all they aim at.

Might not some under scribbler be employed with a book to salute Prince Eugene's coming into England, with all the strange neglects of this Emperor and his brother from the beginning of the war till now; and as chief points that when with the risk of our all (for had our army been beaten at Hagstadt [Hockstadt or Blenheim] we had not saved one man, there being no retreat) we saved them even Vienna and gained them the country of Bavaria, they from that time began to lessen their force, released the 8,000 Danes out of their service and sent several troops to Hungary. Then the year after did they not after the Army of the Allies had won the battle of Turin make a capitulation with Medavid who was cut off from the retreat, and only to gain a quiet possession of the town of Mantua they made a capitulation to let him pass into France with all the French troops, which were old regiments and made the foot of 30,000 men, which did not only stop the progress of the Duke of Savoy in Dauphiné but was the cause of our losing the battle of Almanza in Spain the year after. Then did they not render fruitless our design on Toulon by sending away at that time to Naples the troops designed for that expedition, with all the French officers the Duke of Savoy particularly desired; and not only frustrated that expedition, but we have lost the use of 10,000 men ever since. So that it might be made appear plainly that the Court at Vienna has rather prejudiced the common cause than advanced it. Their behaviour this last year was scandalous, and yet 'tis they that blame us the most for desiring peace.

I spoke with all becoming manners to Prince Eugene and told him the truth on several points, which he seemed not to have an



inclination to deny, that he might put upon me his being for taking measures for bringing the Emperor into the Congress of peace, rather than for continuing the war. The party in England is strongly knotted with them here, and no stone will be left unturned to baffle what you have undertaken; but I have alarmed some to-day against the behaviour of Buys, who, though he wishes for peace, is made unknown to himself their tool for carrying on the war.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Dec. 10. Three days.

1711, December  $\frac{25}{14}$ . The Hague.— . . . The faction here, to draw Mons. Go[slinga] over, had made him believe that all we had done before was but to amuse, to see if we had a majority or no in the Parliament; and that now we found it so great in the House of Commons we should leave them in the lurch. I told him that was the invention of the faction, that I would do my endeavours that the well-intentioned here should be satisfied, but if it happened otherwise they must thank Buys and their faction here.

I told another yesterday that has a great sway in the Republic the same thing, and after I left him he went up to an assembly of the deputation for foreign affairs, and tells me he found them upon the subject of what I had said, and the declaration I made that I was ordered not to take a house at Utrecht; that he found the Pensionary much dismayed, very thoughtful and hardly knowing what to say; that the assembly showed a great indignation at Buys's proceedings, who will be ordered to lay an exact account of his behaviour before the States, and state why the passports were not delivered, and from whom came the proposition made to France about the Duke of Anjou and the *ci-devant* Electors of Br<sup>e</sup> & Cologne; that he must take care to behave himself so [as] to give no offence to the Queen and her ministers, and that it is the firm resolution of the State to submit themselves entirely to what the Queen pleases, and that he must answer at his peril any inconvenience his conduct draws this State into. In short, I am assured your Lordship will find him supple like a glove, and humble and fawning like a dog.

1711, December  $\frac{29}{18}$ . The Hague.—I design to try whether I can persuade Prince Eugene to stay till the Bishop of Bristol comes over, which is all I can do, since I find him so determined to go. I had another discourse with him yesterday, and ran over in answer to every article he could allege, and showed him he would do the Emperor's business better by staying here. He told me it was necessary to re-establish a good correspondence between the Emperor and the Queen, and that could not be done but to the Queen in person. I told him that might be done as well by letter, especially since his presence would be wanted to settle matters for the operations here. At last he was

forced to tell me plainly that as all the world knew the Emperor had sent him to go to England and that he was here for that purpose, it would be both a reflection on the Emperor and on him, should he not go over ; all the world would say the Queen would not permit him to come over, and, as he had assured me, he would not meddle in anything but to the Queen and her ministers and he would meddle in no faction or intrigue. I told him again I was satisfied he would not do it willingly, but he would be drawn into it before he was aware. The true reason now is the Austrian pride, and you may conclude you will see him over.

I keep the Prussian Minister here much against his will, but since I find the Prince is resolved to go over, when he does I believe one will do less harm being detained a little too long than the other will do by getting over too soon ; so to-morrow I will try to get the Prince to promise to stay till the Bishop comes that I may let the Prussian go.

'Tis wonderful the stories and lies they spread about here. Some of them I have in writing, but I think them too base and scandalous to be sent you, but be assured they come from the same fountain and unless you crush the serpent's head he will always throw his sting about. A party is kept up here by assurance our general will come into power again.

1711-12, <sup>January 1.</sup><sub>December 21.</sub> The Hague.—“ Your Lordship sees plainly by the long relation I sent of my last conference that Prince Eugene and the faction here hope they shall baffle our measures, and think of spinning on the war as formerly ; if that story I mention of the French being able to take such a post as can hinder our army from coming through Bouchain to assemble be true, all the great noise of what we shall do there next year, will come to nothing ; and I am sure if we do nothing there, we are like to do nothing anywhere else, at least of any consequence towards bringing the French to the peace we wish.

I take the liberty to enclose your Lordship a gazette from Amsterdam that you may see what turn they give to our affairs, and how they make the General speech it, I no more wonder at a gazetteer for being for the continuation of the war, than I do at a General's, because one finds his account by the selling his gazettes, and the other by selling his safe-guards ; as all the German Princes do, by selling their troops ; I likewise send you another of our woman's papers, who goes on pretty well, and I believe we shall have a weekly current come out which will set British affairs in a truer light than these do. Your Lordship sees plainly that these people thinking themselves secure that England designs them a barrier, and their tariff are now looking out for some advantage in the West Indies. Pensionary Heinsius said to me talking of Buys's behaviour, &c. that as yet England had not said what they designed for themselves, I told him if we designed no more than what was in the former

preliminaries, we did very well to hold our tongues, for we ought to be ashamed of being the bubbles of peace, as well as war ; but he might be assured if we designed anything for ourselves, it would not be anything could be of prejudice to them, and that I could not help saying to him, that at the same time they profess their confidence in the Queen, their behaviour seems the most mistrustful that can be.

Our party for the peace is pretty well assured of late by me, and I believe will enter into measures to settle all that regards themselves underhand with me, and then what regards the Allies, and when that is done I believe we shall find out a way to over-reach the faction, and make them come into peace, before they are aware ; they seem satisfied that Buys has been too much swayed by the faction here, and would be for entering into concerts with me, but I drive them off, till Lord Privy Seal comes to have his assistance, they are satisfied there will be all the tricks and artifices imaginable to stave off the peace, and Buys and Vanderdussen will be watched by some of the other Dutch Plenipotentiaries, so that it will be impossible for them to play the tricks they did at Gertruydenberg. There is one way to catch the Imperialists, which is to tell them they can't imagine but something must be left of the monarchy of Spain to content the Duke of Anjou, therefore give them the choice, to leave the House of Austria, Spain, and the Indies, to give to the House of Bourbon all the rest of the Spanish monarchy, and Flanders, to some third Princees or let the Emperor take Flanders, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Mantua, Serdania, and all the towns on the coast of Tuscany, and I am sure the Austrians will choose this last dividend, let them pretend what they will, for the Emperor with this acquisition will be very powerful. Consider my Lord all Italy added to what he has already with Hungary submitted he will be greater than ever Prince was that sat on the Imperial throne.

The conferences being now so nigh I hope your Lordship will get rid at once of all your foreign ministers, which you will do by declaring once for all, that the conferences being began, the Queen will treat on nothing but there ; so send them all to use for I am willing to take that trouble off your hands, you will have enough with domestic affairs in Parliament, for not only these who are there, strive to animate the mob, but others are for going over to strengthen their party, three or four little residents, who are gone to Francfort for instructions, and are to be employed to run and prattle about in coffee houses ; for every little fellow, since they hear Bothmars memorial made such a work, think they are as capable of setting out as good a one. I believe he will soon wish he had his in his pocket again if he does not already.

In the last conference after Prince Eugene was gone the Pensionary told Mr. Heems that it was certain as the Emperor had increased his dominions he had decreased his force, and



I showing him how many men they had less then at the time of the battle of Hochstadt, he said the Emperor's revenues were not able to bear any more expense, nor did they know where to raise any more money, I told him I could help them to a fund which was that formerly engaged to England in [Selisia?] the principle being all paid, or nigh all paid, they might anticipate that fund again and borrow money upon it, but says the Pensionary a little fearingly: Will England now lend them any more, I made him answer, sooner now than ever (but it was out of the hearing of the Envoy) for that their friends the faction not lending their money to the Queen and nation were so much the better able to lend it to their protector the Emperor.

Give me leave my Lord to wish you most heartily and sincerely a happy new year, and that you may have entire success and satisfaction in all you undertake, and that you may never trust a man less faithful and affectionate to you than I am and then I am sure you are safe."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Dec. 26, 1711.

1712. January 5.  
1711. December 25. Hague.—“I thought not to have troubled your Lordship again till my Lord Privy Seal was come, from whom I might get better lights, than I can have at this distance of the true sentiments and designs of your Lordship on this great and difficult work in hand, after those *contre temps* it has met with; but finding the wind contrary I rather chose to venture to be troublesome than to delay for any time what I think may be worth laying before your Lordship.

I have said so much of the temper of these people to your Lordship and Mr. St. John, that I shall not repeat it, they are easily frightened, and mightily dejected and humble, when they are so; and they do as easily conceive hopes, and grow sanguine, and then are as much delighted, as they were depressed before, they then fall to the play they like best, which is making use of the conjuncture to screw all things to their own particular advantage, and to hinder what they can the increase of power or commerce in their rival, as they undoubtedly reckon Great Britain to be, who acts quite another part with them even against the politic allowed to the nations the best friends, which is, taking care of themselves when it does not hurt, nor interfere with the interest of the other. I can't help saying I can't but wonder that faction can so blind any people in England that has a stake in their country, and has no immediate advantage by the war, that they can be for our continuation of it under those disadvantages we struggle with, when nothing is more evident, than that we are imposed grossly upon by all our allies, when we are at all the expense, and others are to reap the benefit, when we exceed our capacity and wealth, and they retrench as their revenues increase by the war, and always continue it within their own reach, so that a few years peace sets this

state—which next to us bears the greatest burden—right again in their finances, but an age almost won't retrieve our anticipations.

The Lords Address puts me in mind of the fable of the mice, who found it certainly necessary and advantageous to have a bell about the cat's neck ; but who durst hang it on ; it would be certainly better to have the whole monarchy of Spain from the House of Bourbon, but who shall wrest it from them, will Great Britain alone do it ; then indeed they would be less wise than the mice, for that must be the case ; since any one that sees the present posture of affairs in Europe must know, that, the confidence being lost amongst the Allies, the minute we let the negotiations go from us, either the Dutch or the Emperor, would take it up and conclude it to their own advantage. The Emperor has lately threatened us with a separate peace, and so has the Dutch often to our generals' and the late ministers' knowledge ; and they know, to keep them from it they were forced to humour them in every thing, and I must again tell your Lordship that the very last conference I was at with Prince Eugene and the States on the article of Spain, they all assured me the last ministers of Great Britain had often given them repeated promises of easing the States of their burden in the war, and taking it upon themselves, I told them, that was by no means conformable to my instructions or sentiments, but perhaps if they would give it me in writing, that I might show Her Majesty what the late ministers had promised in her name, that she might lay it before her Parliament, they might find the effects of those promises ; but the Pensionary seeing my meaning, said that he did not pretend it was binding enough to be laid before the Parliament nor was it necessary at this time of the day I should have such a thing in writing, but this they have said to me in such a public assembly, and repeated it, that your Lordship may make what use of it you please. The conference held in the morning on Saturday was to read over the letters resolved in the conference before, to exhort the Princes in our alliance particularly those of Ratisbone, to make greater efforts and to send at least the compliment of their contingent, in which letters, the President, Monsieur Latmar had inserted, and whereas the Earl of Strafford had declared in the Queen's name that she was resolved to be at the same expenses as she had been, and to make the same efforts every where ; I told him though I did not question but it was in general Her Majesty's intentions yet I was surprised he had mentioned in those letters declarations I had never made, for on the contrary, after Prince Eugene had told us of the 10,000 men the Emperor would give next campaign more than he used to have, and that they had declared on the part of the States they would continue the same efforts for the next campaign, and looking upon me for a declaration, they having made theirs, I told them what concerned these countries and Italy the Queen

was so far resolved to continue the same efforts, that she had sent me her full powers to renew all her treaties with her allies, but for Spain she hoped they would make that a common cause in reality and not in words, he remembered that on that occasion I asked them as well as Prince Eugene what they would do in Spain, they answered the same they had done last year, and that they could not do more, which I summed up to be but six battalions and one in Gibraltar, that the Prince talked as if the Emperor designed to have but 4,000 men more than he had last year, and even then he expected the Queen would bear part of the charge ; in which case the Queen's proportion would not come to much &c. I had my reason, which I believe is plain to your Lordship why I talked to them in that matter about Spain, and it had its effect especially being in presenee of all the deputies of the States, I think I again made it plainly appear that the Queen had done more than was incumbent on her, and that the Emperor and they had done infinitely less, that it was no more the question now, to set a Prince upon a throne desired by a people, but to conquer entirely a kingdom. So Monsieur Brukhuisen took their letter to Ratisbone back and changed it, leaving out that article of my declaration and penning it in the manner I now send it to the secretary as your Lordship will see it in my relation ; we were to have another conference again in the afternoon, I knew those most inclined for war had been in concert with Prince Eugene and Count Galas before they came to the evening conference, at which Monsieur Brukhuisen as usual began it and fell upon the article of Spain, why the Queen ought to continue all the expense of that war and how this State had made their utmost efforts, and indeed had done more than they were well able to support &c., with a good many sorry arguments I found concerted amongst them. I told them I was not prepared to argue upon that head since I knew the conference was appointed upon another, therefore I desired they would fall upon the subject appointed for the conference, but they, the more they found I seemed to have a mind to decline entering upon the debate of Spain, the more they stuck to it, and the more they pressed it, though I told them what I had said in the morning was more an accidental discourse upon their putting in a declaration in my name in their letters I had never made &c. But finding they had laid the matter amongst themselves to get me to declare something about Spain to answer them, and that they might not mistake me, I told them I would again repeat what I said, especially since I found Mr. Heems was writing down what had passed, that the Queen hoped they would make the war of Spain a common cause in effect, and not only in words, that as soon as she knew what proportion of it the Emperor would bear, and what this State, she would resolve on hers and that I could assure them by order Her Majesty would at least bear her proportion. They would have put me off with general



answers, but then indeed, I turned their project upon them, and told them that since they would proceed upon that matter, I desired to know from them what proportion they would find for that war, that Her Majesty might resolve on hers. The Prince answered he had told me in part,<sup>f</sup> and his journey to England was to settle the rest there, I then desired the States to inform me what was the proportion they proposed to take in that war, and being they would have shuffled off, and returned to the other matter, I insisted I would know what the Queen was to expect from them, for since they had begun, I must know what troops and what efforts they would make next year in Spain, so after some whispering amongst themselves they said the same they had last year, which I desired I might take down in writing, since I could find it amount to no more than six battalions and half a one in Gibraltar, yet they told me they had eighteen squadrons. I asked if this is all they would do, they answered me they had four battalions more to send by agreement last year which was two they had of Deisbach Suisse and two more they desired the Prince to find for them amongst the Princes in Germany ; I told them as for the two if the Prince could find them he might tell us of them now, knowing all the troops to be disposed of in the Empire, and as for the two battalions of Deisbach they were marching into the Empire instead of Italy which was the way if they designed to embark for Spain, but that they said could be soon altered, in short it was reduced to these uncertain four battalions, and the six they now pretend to have in Spain, with eighteen squadrons, I asked them if this was all the Queen could depend upon them for Spain ; they answered this was all they were capable to do, I told them that the Prince talked of sieges in that country, what would they furnish to them, they answered they could furnish nothing, the Queen had taken all that on herself. After I had told them I should represent this matter to the Queen, they thought in reprisal to ask me to declare what the Queen would furnish there, I told them I had declared already that she would not furnish less than her proportion but since they desired to know in particular what troops she had there, as I had asked from them, I could easily answer them, by desiring them to subtract their six battalions and about 4,000 men the Prince says the Emperor pays there, and then they might reckon the rest was all the Queen's which after that deduction was made amounted last year to about 22,000 effective men, besides all the rest of the expense of that war ; this answer entirely stopped their mouths, and so they fell upon the other matter, which I need not trouble your Lordship with, but have been particular on this account that your Lordship may judge which is the best way to deal with these people, and how unreasonable they are about Spain, and that when these things are known in England, surely our people will come to themselves, and think it no more necessary to ruin themselves, and posterity

to wrest Spain from the House of Bourbon, since we alone can't conquer it, and no one else will help us to do it, but all ready to fix the burden on us, and make us the real dupes of the war; and yet these very people have it in their views, the Emperor to have the kingdom, and the States to share every advantage of commerce, &c. with us there, and there on the other side they are to have every thing they can get though by our joint assistance entirely to themselves, and posterity, methinks if our mighty politicians at home, hav'nt wit enough of themselves to take care of their own advantage, yet they might have learnt it from their neighbours, and seeing that there is not one engaged in this war, but has a particular self advantage in it, and besides the paying of part of their expense during the war, they are all to get something for themselves at a peace, and none works in it for the pure advantage of the common cause but the Queen alone, and even instead of expressing their gratitude for that, they are ready on the first occasion to forget all things, and fall to the most violent investives and calumnies against her, and her ministers, as is possible. And really my Lord I must speak plain to you, as I must stand and fall by you, being now engaged by inclination, obligation and honour, you are not safe, whilst there is a supposed power still remaining in the Duke of Marlborough, it is his party is the most violent here, it is the hopes of his coming again into play and power keeps up this spirit of opposition here, it is his influence alone has spurred up the foreign ministers to push their masters to oppose the Queen's measures, he has reigned so long sovereign, and has made them have what advantages he pleased and has showed his resentment to them as he pleased, he has by this means made them choose such ministers to be at the Hague as he liked, and now by them has made their masters oppose, as they do, the Queen's measures, he has had a much better opportunity to get such ministers at London, all their gazettes, all their stories, here roll upon the assurance they have of his coming into favour; and being resolved, as they call it, to set things right again. The gazetteer of Amsterdam is his creature, by means of other peoples money, not his own, it is he has the intelligence of the whigs and actually knew of Lord Notingham's design above a fortnight before the Parliament met, printed it in his gazette, and that after he had promised to oppose the peace, they promised to let such a bill as he had showed them pass against occasional conformity. Thus you see how long their schemes are laid, and what pains they take to inform their friends and creatures here of them. I here enclose your Lordship a scandalous book in Dutch, and though but Grubstreet yet amongst these sad people it makes a noise, though Calliau, who detected it, assures me there is none dispersed, that he had intelligence of it, and that he went, and had the rest of them burnt before his face, that he had frightened the bookseller, who swore to him he did not know from whence

they came, I asked Cailleau if he had spoke to the Pensionary about it—because I know he is well with him—and told him it was too poor and too scurrilous a paper for me to complain of unless I could find out the author, I had a mind to know what the Pensionary said to it ; he has been with me just now, and told me the Pensionary ordered him to acquaint me of it, and at the same time commended the care he had taken to suppress it, and recommended it by him to the magistrates of Rotterdam, that they should enquire if they could find out the author to have him punished, and desire them to take great care that no such books should be published for the future. Your Lordship sees by this, to what villainy your adversaries would push things. Haillart has protested to me that before the Duke of Marlborough went to England last he sent for him to his closet, and told him he wondered he came out of England so quietly, that the ministers had not a power to send him from thence, and if he returned he would find friends and people in the Parliament to second him, and be revenged of those who had used him so ill, adding what was alleged against him : he said only such a letter ; the Duke as—he says—answered him *allés allés en Angleterre vous trouverez votre compte je vous assure ! Je vois que ce Tresorier craint le poignarde.* He was at Amsterdam from whence I sent for him, to tell him about the pension your Lordship seemed willing to obtain for him under another name, but told him I must see his inclinations to deserve by the information he gave me, he knowing so well Monsieur Heems, Count Galas &c., and being, as he had assured me, Prince Eugene had desired him to go over to England with him ; which he had a great mind to have done, so that I am apt to believe it is true, but I advised him not to go over yet but to see the Prince as if he had thoughts of it, and hear what he said to him, so I enclose your Lordship two of Haillart's letters to me, by which your Lordship will see what use we may make of him. The pension he proposed to me is 100*l.* a year, which I seemed to think too much and he argued was too little, however, I neither answered him yea or no till I know your Lordship's resolution upon it. I am told to-night Prince Eugene will go over with this convoy the wind being fair, and the Prussian Envoy resolving to go, who I could keep no longer, having done it already a fortnight, though I had no power to detain the yachts, but what I thought the situation of affairs might justify, I have told the Prince so plainly, that nothing but a firm resolution worked up from hopes given him by the faction in Britain, could make him resolve to part from hence before the convoy the Queen designed for him came over, and that he might have the advantage of seeing the Bishop, and learning *la carte du pais* before he undertook the voyage, but I doubt he thinks himself so well informed from other hands he need no better. All I can do now is to tell the captain of the yacht, who seems an honest man, that he must consider



his orders from the Admiralty whether they can justify his carrying the Prince over, he is afraid he can't, without my order, I have told him already that I dare not venture to give him an order, now the Queen has ordered a yacht and convoy particularly for him; as the Prince has put his baggage aboard his yacht which is to fall down from Rotterdam to-morrow, for fear of being froze up there. I am told the Prince of a sudden resolves to ask my passport if the captain refuses to take him aboard without it, which will embarrass me, for as on the one side I don't care to have him intriguing in England and on the other I know not well how I can deny him a thing I grant to every courier &c. that asks it, but I will once more strive to dissuade him, that in complaisance he should stay till the convoy the Queen has ordered for him comes over, and till he has seen the Bishop. He may have some instructions to discourse him upon. Though at last I can't see since he will go over, but that you are so well prepared and know his designs so well, that he can be able to work no great matters, though I was told he should have said to a friend, that Lord Marlborough had so fully informed him of the Queen's temper, with the humility of his behaviour, and his seeming sincerity, and laying the Emperor's interest at her feet he was sure he should gain her. If your Lordship thinks fit if you speak to the minister of Prussia, let it be in a manner that he may understand the Queen will distinguish between those allies, who show a readiness to comply with Her Majesty's measures, and those who appear backwards, so that you may incite him to make his master send his plenipotentiaries as soon as possible to the congress at Utrecht, I have told him already, that the Queen is assured France will make no difficulty to acknowledge his royal title at the signing the treaty, but that it was not to be expected before, and have satisfied him that no minister being otherwise distinguished but as plenipotentiaries, his masters would be looked upon in the same manner as those belonging to the Queen and other crowned heads were, with which he seemed satisfied, his character in a few words is, he is proud, poor, and extravagant; he seems frank but is close and deceitful, very false, and as cunning as his little genius will permit him, you will make great compliments of consideration for his king, who expects it, and the good service his troops has done.

The Imperialists are trying if they don't go themselves, to hinder all they can from going to the congress, so I would have the Prussians there; the minister of Savoy is gone to-day to fix his house there, and he of Portugall is uncertain, he asked me if there was any hopes of any thing extraordinary for the King his master, if there was, in that case he would go, else he should not. I told him all the Queen could do for the King his master, and the rest of her allies, she would do, if he did not go to the congress she would take the best care of his interest

she could, but if he did go, he might have the satisfaction of taking care of it himself, which short way of answering him, I found extremely embarrassed him.

I expect your Lordship's answer will be to forbid me troubling with such long letters but as it is my inclination to inform you amply all I know so I think it my duty to set matters in their right light before you as they appear."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Dec. 29. Four days.

<sup>1712 January 3</sup>  
<sup>1711 December 23.</sup> Utrecht.—“As your Lordship will see by our joint letter that even the Imperial ministers seems to be coming like the Dutch into the Queen's measures, the French seem much alarmed at it, and I believe now is the proper time to press and obtain a conclusion of all that is in difference between our court and that of France, wherefore I believe if your Lordship thought fit to send the Queen's resolution upon the proposition of the States to Lord Shrewsbury, and let him tell the French—“Thus you see the Queen will conclude the general peace, upon condition France will comply and settle immediately what is still remaining between them and us,” which they will certainly do for the sake of such a conclusion; for they certainly apprehend delay, nor do I believe that would be well for the Queen's affairs. We are impatient to know Her Majesty's pleasure upon the Dutch proposition, which when we do, we shall again fall very heartily to work things to their desired conclusion. I once more congratulate your Lordship upon the fair prospect of that happy conclusion, being with perfect truth and acknowledgment of all your favours,” &c.

<sup>1712 January 8</sup>  
<sup>1711 December 29.</sup> Hague.—I take the liberty to send your Lordship here the *factum* of this Hallerc, which he mentioned in one of his former letters, and three more of his letters, which are the last I believe I shall think fit to trouble your Lordship with, being it appears odd to me, that after the protestations Prince Eugene made me, he should think of carrying this man over and encourage him to address himself to the Parliament. It was impossible for me to know whether he tells me truth or no, I have had him dogged, and have known he has gone into Prince Eugene's and Baron Heems's houses. I doubted the *factum* to be theirs, because it names them, and Lord Marlborough so freely, but he protests it was drawn up by them, and so far from sparing to expose Lord Marlborough, he protests they would have had him have put in that base saying of Lord Marlborough—if he did say it—*que ce tresorier craint le poignard*, but as the man is an entire stranger to me I lay his letters and actions before your Lordship who is a better judge than I am. He was to have writ a letter to have had an answer from Baron Heems of the Prince's going, being I know Monsieur Heems hand, but that I know to be true. The Prince went away in

the greatest haste could be, and I am apt to believe he thought himself mighty cunning, only to let me know it the night before, for as he had a great mind to be over so he was afraid I should have found out means to have stopped him. I think since he will go over this is the best time, being the Parliament wont sit till you have seen plainly what he would be at which may meet with the reception you please in Parliament. He is a good general, but no conjurer in politics, further than putting on a false appearance, but I have said enough of my opinion of his character as a politician before.

I have mentioned to Mr. St. John a complaint about our undertakers I know not yet at whose door the fault lies, perhaps he has given so much for his undertaking to a certain general he can't go on, but as I know more about it, I shall inform your Lordship.

As for this Hallere, as it only concerns your Lordship so I have taken no notice of it to any one else not even to Mr. St. John.

They are terribly alarmed at the resolution of the House of Commons to enquire how the allies have furnished their quotas and say they were not in a condition to furnish theirs better than they have done. I answer them, then they should not have opposed the peace if they were not in a condition to carry on the war.

They are mortified to hear Lord Privy Seal does not come hither but goes straight to Utrecht for you will see they had laid the plan under pretence of settling previously the points for the plan of peace to have had actually the making of the peace here. Under those who had hindered it before, and especially Count Sinzendorf would have been busy in that matter, for Van der Dussen is a creature of theirs and would not have stirred a step but by their orders.

They must send their ministers if they see ours and the French there, in spite of all their contrivance, and your Lordship will see all the other trutle thither, especially if you think it fit to tell them all that you will treat of nothing but at Utrecht or if any thing is to be done about troops or otherwise at the Hague, as I am obliged to keep my house and part of my family here, I can in a day easily come from Utrecht hither, so that will be an answer to any difficulty they can make on that head. My Lord be assured I won't spare my pains nor industry to render you the best service I can.

The Pensionary met me next day about the book I sent you, he told me it was so scandalous a one that he had spoke to the magistrates of Rotterdam to find out the author, and have him punished, and asked me with great earnestness what I could propose to him, I told him the book in itself was scandalously ridiculous, yet I wished the author and publisher could be found out for an example, all I could desire was that he would desire the magistrates to made the best search they



could and to punish them severely if they caught them, and at the same time to desire them to take care not only to hinder the publishing of that book, but any other of that nature, which he promised me should be done, and in the afternoon the Pensionary of Rotterdam came to me with a long compliment from the magistrates of that city, expressing their sorrow for what had happened enlarging on your Lordship's praise, and assuring me they would do their best to find out the author and have him punished, at the same time expressing the great regard that city had for the Queen and the whole English nation, by whose commerce that town subsisted. I gave him thanks, as also to the magistrates, and told him they might depend on the Queen's and your Lordship's protection, so he went away well satisfied.

I tell our friends here if things do not go so well as they should do in England they may thank Buys for it, who still as one comes nigh what he seemed at first to desire he roves further, so that we could fix nothing with him and when we thought to have had him on the barrier he was whipped to the West Indies. They seem to blame him now they apprehend this turn in the House of Commons but I must be so sincere with your Lordship to tell you they had all their views that way as he had led them. I am satisfied they will at last come to what we would have them, and if I end this troublesome wise commission to your Lordship's honour and satisfaction it will be the greatest can happen to &c.

*Postscript.*—May I once more without being thought too importunate beg your Lordship to order any tally for payment of my old extra extraordinaries which account is in Mr. Powis's hands."

1712, January 1<sup>st</sup>. The Hague.—Once more I trouble your Lordship with this man's letters, he is now gone to Amsterdam. I am apt to believe what he says is true because those three gentlemen he names of this State are known to be pensionaries of the Imperial Court.

Prince Eugene is by this time with you Count Galas went from hence yesterday but left his secretary behind him who was in England to keep up his correspondence there.

This State finds they must send their plenipotentiaries to Utrecht and I hope we shall break their project of laying the plan, as they call it, or indeed making the preliminary peace here, where they expect Count Sinzendorf to assist them to make such work as it shall never come to a conclusion at least whilst it is not entirely in their own hands and whilst they think England is to get any thing.

Monsieur Buys who I have not yet seen seems as I am told well pleased with his journey to England and the civilities he met with there, but shall say no more of this matter till I see the bishop who I have sent to Rotterdam to invite hither in case he does not think as I do that it is better for him to go

from thence straight to Utrecht without coming hither at all. I shall trouble your Lordship no more to-night but with assuring you I am with the utmost gratitude," &c.

*Enclosure.* Letter to Strafford from J. Hallere. *French.*

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Jan. 8. Seven days.

1712, January 2<sup>6</sup>. Utrecht.—Your Lordship will see by my letter to Mr. St. John what we have done this day, how extreme easy the French seemed to be in every thing, and how difficult the Dutch, they wait for the letters from England which will determine them, and their friends the Imperialists. The game they now play is only to gain time, and though they can't reasonably help it, yet they are vexed the conferences are opened. We have three capital points to debate with them, the treaty of Barriere, the disposition of Spain and its commerce, and what Secretary or Protocolist we must make use of to keep the minutes of the general conferences, and we find them very stiff in all three. They will likewise make difficulty to answer particularly to the offer France will make for a general peace, though that is certainly reasonable. I think the declaration we got from France to-day may be of service to your Lordship since that puts the general points upon the foot you desired and overthrows at once the comparison of them and the former, and then this declaration in the very beginning of the negotiation, that they mean the protestant succession, and will make no difficulty about the Pretender, will stop the mouths of those who called us all Jacobites. As for the unreasonableness of the Dutch it will daily more and more appear and I have to-day sent Mr. Secretary St. John a paper of how little they pretended to for their security in the beginning of this war and at the same time of a memorial Mr. Stanhope then gave in wherein he demands in the King's name Ostende and Newport to be garrisoned by the King's troops and then the Dutch consented to it, whatever difficulty they make now, even to leave those towns in the hands of the Emperor or those to whom Flanders shall be allotted, and if one may believe Menager Monsieur Vanderdussen in treating formerly with him, told him, speaking of Dunkirk, that that was the affair of the English, and for the States general they would as lieve have it in the hands of the French as of the English. I may be pardoned if I ask your Lordship another thing Menager told me that a friend of yours in England told him, don't stand so hard with us since we will leave you Madrit and Aragon. In short leaving Spain or the best part of it to Philip, we may do something, without it, I doubt we can't so soon have peace, which besides our domestic occasion the war the Turks are beginning again with the Muscovites may cause a terrible disorder in the Empire and make a great diversion of our troops."

1712-13, January 24. Utrecht.—Having troubled your Lordship about the forage which made a noise here I now send your Lordship abstracts of part of Mr. Cadogan's letters as well about that, as other things, and I have spoke to Mr. Sweet, so that all that matter is, or will be very soon set right again, and I am apt to believe the Dutch made more cry about it than they needed have done.

I send your Lordship other parts of Mr. Cadogan's letters because your Lordship may see how that gentleman excuses the accusation that he lies under, as if he came to get affidavits &c. in favour of the late general. I must with the same liberty your Lordship has encouraged me to write to you, tell you my opinion is, that since Mr. Cadogan seems desirous to submit and comply, that it may be necessary to give him some encouragement, and to keep him in, since no man knows the Spanish Low Countries better than he does, nor is more expert in the affair of quartermaster general; and really without partiality, to one side or other, I do believe the greatest part of Lord Marlborough's victories are owing to him, and even the Pensionary said to me, *si vous voulés avoir un duc de Marlborough un Cadogan est nécessaire*. It would be well to keep him a little under, though you keep him still employed, and if you will let me know your sentiments as to my behaviour towards him I will be sure to observe them.

Whilst the ministers of the Emperor are conspiring against us at the Hague, we are going on here as fast as our instructions will permit us, our time is continually spent in conferences. The day for the opening the general one being now fixed, it will not be in the power of the Imperialists to put it off, since they only wait letters from England to come hither, if all things goes smoothly there, and none of those disturbances happens they hope for, then they will come hither, and strive to baffle with their utmost contrivances our negotiation. Buys my Lord, now shows his, and his country's meaning but too clear, which is, having surprised us in the barrier treaty they will try to keep us to it. I asked him a very fair question several times over, to which he would never make me a direct answer, which was—If they would have the subjects of Great Britain in a worse condition relating to their commerce since the treaty of barrier than they were before. I told him plainly I would have him consider what any Englishman must think of them, to insist on any clause in that treaty to our prejudice, when we had made that treaty purely for their security against France, when we had given them a better, and a great country than their own, when we had found them means to keep them an army without expense and that they should foist in an article of commerce to make the Queen's subjects in a worse condition relating to their commerce than they were before. In short he told me plainly that by the treaty of barrier they had a right to an equal share of any advantage the subjects of Great Britain



should obtain from Spain, either in our trade to Spain, or the West Indies. I told him, if he should insist on it, perhaps the Queen might lay that treaty before the Parliament to see if they approved it and then what would become of those—their friends—who made it. He said he did not care, the Queen had ratified the treaty and he did not doubt but she would think herself obliged to keep it. I have made my letter longer than I designed and have hardly left the space in respect I ought to have to assure you that I am with the highest esteem,” &c.

*Enclosure.* Extract of letters of Lieut.-General Cadogan.

1712, February 1<sup>st</sup>. Utrecht.—I will not take up much of your time but only tell you that Buys makes more work with the Assiento than you can imagine, he says that, under the pretence of that, we shall have all the trade in South America, and in short we must not expect a peace till they are let in for half the advantage of the commerce of Spain and the West Indies, and speaks it of late with a greater air of assurance than formerly: he has some opposers in the State but he is backed entirely by Amsterdam in this matter of trade and commerce which they would have equal with the English and they are supported in it by the Pensionary and his faction at the Hague. In the mean time the French seem enraged we can't speak clearer to them of a plan of peace and D'Uxelles says let the Queen say what plan she will have and at once they will say if they can agree to it or no. The Dutch caress both the Imperialists and the French and hopes to gain their ends by that and the difficulties we are tied to. Madam La Dauphine is dead and the Dauphin very dangerously ill; if he dies the crown of France is like to fall into a minority and then the Emperor's power will be great enough without the totality of the Spanish monarchy. It was formerly the advantage of England that he was quiet when all was in combustion on the continent and then she could act indeed as mediatrix, but now if we spin on this war we may insensibly draw ourselves by the death of the Emperor or other Princes into the bustle which no way concern us, and the Dutch with their barriere will be strong enough to play their cards without us in another war.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Febru. 14. Six days.

1712, March 2<sup>nd</sup>. Utrecht.—The greatness of your merit has been the occasion of your enjoying the greatest post of any subject in Great Britain and that naturally draws upon you a great many solicitations of different natures and I am afraid I have been one of your most troublesome solicitors, this I take the liberty to trouble you with now is to recommend Mr. Benson who is Major of the royal regiment of dragoons and has a brevet of Lieutenant Colonel which his merit very well deserves and which he hopes will entitle him to your Lordship's favour and I hope your Lordship will show him so much as to

give him leave to explain to you the contents of this memorial and how I hope my regiment may be raised again without being any new expense to the public, which is a justice I hope your Lordship will think due to them either in peace or war being the first regiment, who has been the worst used of any regiment in the army since my departure from it, and yet has done as much service and has as many deserving officers in it as any regiment in the army, most of the officers, sergeants and corporals are in England so that if they had but the liberty of raising the men they wanted to complete the regiment, it would be no expense to the Queen, being it would be done upon their old establishment and the Queen by that would have a good squadron of dragoons raised at no expense ready to serve her wherever she pleases and your Lordship would be sure of them to be entirely devoted to you. This is such a justice due to the regiment that I don't in the least doubt of your Lordship's powerful assistance and that my officers will soon have orders to raise the men of the regiment again, which I shall add to the great many obligations I have of your Lordship which will make me to the end of my days &c.

1712, April <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. Utrecht.—I hope the report of Mr. Harley and what we have done since his departure from hence, will convince your Lordship, that the Queen has two ministers here, entirely ready to assist and support your ministry without reserve ; and after we had let him know, we saw the difficulties put upon us, we showed him, as I hope we have done your Lordship since, that we are not only willing, but dare serve the Queen, without all these precautions others would naturally have insisted upon ; I came over with that firm intention, and have pursued it, I hope to the Queen's entire satisfaction, I am sure abundantly for her service, and I hope what I have taken upon me, will make your Lordship entirely easy, and master of the finishing stroke as soon as you please, and I am sensible any thing we do according to your Lordship's views will meet with success, nor do I run equal risk, being envy always strikes at the highest ; you are a prey worthy the rage of a disappointed, detected, and outrageous party ; since alone your great genius makes you an over-match for them all, whilst I and others may escape in the crowd of their opposers. Pray my Lord believe I have that true honour and esteem for you, that as I venture my fortune to serve you, so I really will my life when you shall have occasion for it. This I promised your Lordship by Mr. Lewis, when I was at Berlin, before you had that power you now so worthily have, and I hope my actions since have convinced you of my sincerity, and that I am not of an inconstant temper, but that those who honour me with their friendship, and protection sincerely, may depend I will adhere to them and their interest.

I shan't enter into the reasonings on what has passed, only that we have told them that without the expedient proposed, in all its extension, to hinder the union of the two crowns, there is nothing to be done, they seem sensible of it, and though they may make an attempt to retrench or find out expedients for some part to their advantage, since in every thing they can't help prevaricating and using as much chicane as the consequence of time will permit them, which is a habitude they have so long been used to, they can't yet shake off, yet if insisted upon, they will certainly come into the business of Strasburg and Alsatia, the Marechall was so stiff upon, that he swore the King would make no peace on those conditions and if insisted upon we had nothing to do but to return ; it is his all, being that government is very advantageous and lucrative to him and in a minority Strasburg is really of vast consequence to France, however we had not the complaisance to yield that point, but left it undetermined. In all the rest they have gone a great way, and swear it is their ultimatum. I was afraid we should not have found them so easy as we have on the points of the two Electors ; the plan will come from Paris to you as soon as this I believe can come to you from hence, with the King's consent to those points they pretend they had not power to yield to. We shall expect with great impatience your Lordship's commands and the Queen's approbation of what—I hope—will make her, and her people happy, and your ministry glorious and dear to posterity.

This I hope answers in effect the first part of the letter your Lordship honoured me with by Mr. Harley, what remains is only to return my humble thanks for the care you promise to have about my regiment, which being the first in England, will want to be recruited up to the establishment, whether peace or war.

The next and last point I must return my most humble and hearty thanks, is for your kind promise that your Lordship will order my extra-extraordinaries as I desire, which is so much the more welcome, as that I am at present under the utmost difficulty for want of ready money to answer my bills, since I have the misfortune to lose all the ready money I had to bear my expenses here, by the bankrupt of Adames. The weekly payments which I expected last Christmas, and was just begun to be paid, was no sooner put in but lost in his hands, and the rogue took 500*l.* of my money at four, and broke at seven the same afternoon. A thousand pound of this money was to have been paid in a few days for part of the bills I drew here. Having told your Lordship naturally my misfortune, and the present difficulties I am under, I leave it to your Lordship's friendship and generosity, how to remedy it. Lord Privy Seal sees the vast expense we are at and the prodigious dearness of every thing here. I pay for my house here and at the Hague, which I am by contract obliged to continue a year and a half longer,



though recalled to-morrow, 2,400*l.* a year, your Lordship will judge by that proportion what the rest of the expense must be."

*Postscript.*—"The Dutch begin to *filer doux*. I am glad Hailere is taken in custody for I do by no means like the fellow which he perceived and was mortified at it before I left the Hague." *Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. April 5. Four days.

### The SAME to the SAME.

1712, <sup>May 3</sup><sub>April 22</sub>. Utrecht.—Your Lordship's goodness to me is such that I don't doubt of your pardon for the liberty I take to represent to your Lordship that what by the bankrupt of Adames, and the vast expense at Utrecht, I shall be put very soon to the utmost extremity for want of money, if your Lordship does not give effective orders for my payments. For though your Lordship may think the allowances of the Queen's ministers very great, yet they are little in comparison of others, being the least minister of the least Princee is enabled extraordinary by his master on this occasion, and most of them have their masters' best servants for their tables, and the allowances of Count Sinzendorf, Count Taronea and others of our rank, are prodigious. The French own they shall be ruined by their expense, but the great recompence they expect at the end of the negotiation they depend upon its making them amends.

I should not have troubled your Lordship however, but that I was alarmed by this way of proceeding from my landlord, who pretends to be a man of quality, and is one of the States General, he writ a very impertinent letter to my Maitre d'Hotel, though he had told him the reason of my delaying paying the two months was because of the bankrupt in England, and that in a short time he should be paid. In a very few days more, I must likewise pay half a year's rent for my house in the Hague, or else that landlord may do the same thing as this, for he has already sent to me to get the money ready, and as we are obliged to give caution in Amsterdam, your Lordship sees they wont give us a day's credit. I send you Mr. Drumond's letter, and must beg leave to repeat that the rent of my houses alone on this side the water comes to about two thousand four hundred pounds a year, so your Lordship will judge of my other expense.

Pardon me for adding, that upon the order your lordship was so good to procure me for my plate I bespoke of Williams, who used to work for me, to a considerable value, believing that he would have as many ounces delivered him from Mr. Shalles as formerly, but instead of that, Mr. Shalles makes excuses, and pretends he can't yet deliver me any plate, one word from your Lordship to him, will make him act otherwise and put me easy, which else I can't be, since my marriage instead of putting ready money in my pocket has bound up all I had, as well as my wife's fortune, and was a great expense to me nor have I now credit to borrow or take up one farthing

by mortgage or otherwise on my estate. I say this only to show I would not have ventured to have given you this trouble could I have helped it and hope your Lordship will have the goodness to take it into your consideration and to look upon me as the man in the world the truest and the most," &c.

*Postscript*.—"As I write amply to Mr. Secretary I don't trouble your Lordship but seldom with what relates to the negotiation.

The SAME to the SAME.

1712, <sup>May 10</sup><sub>April 29</sub>. Utrecht.—Since we writ our joint letter I have repayed a visit I owed to Monsieur Consbrue, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, and was not sorry to see him alarmed at our double conferences with the Dutch ministers in one day, and at four of them going the next to the Hague. He told me he heard in town that Spain and the Indies, were to be given to the Duke of Savoy, and that Philip was to be recompensed in Italy, if so, he saw little left for the Emperor, that since my last journey to the Hague it was known that the Dutch was much better pleased than before, but he hoped the Emperor would not be the sacrifice of this good agreement, &c. He went so far as to let me see plainly that if we could not get France to make peace without it, and we could be contented, the Emperor might desist from it, in short, I think I showed him very plainly that their court had given occasion for ours not to seek them so much as else we should, that their truest hold was with us, rather than the Dutch, who might apprehend the Emperor's power, but England never could, that the Queen had still the Emperor's interest at heart, and that they should find, that she would not accept of any peace till a just and reasonable satisfaction was given to all her allies, and particularly to the Emperor, who I did not question would be satisfied and join heartily with the Queen to take measures and enter into a mutual guarantee of that good peace should be obtained, &c. He seemed mightily assured that the Queen had still good intentions towards the Emperor, and could not help lashing some sharp expressions against the Dutch, he said the best way to end, was for the Queen to let the Emperor know by her ministers, what she thought she could obtain from the French, and in that case the Emperor would lay all his pretensions open, and concert heartily with the Queen's ministers, and leave them the mediators, for it was never in the Emperor's thoughts to go on in the war longer than the Queen would. This is a language the Emperor's ministers have not been used to, he told me they were embarrassed to find out a fit person to send to England for the Emperor was resolved to send an envoy thither, to keep up an entire good correspondence with the Queen and her ministers. If we keep on firm we shall bring them all to what we please, but really concessions will look like an apprehension, and when thought necessary, it would not

be amiss we had the first intimation of it, being the posture of things may change here from what it was when the resolution was taken in England.

The peaceable party is now worked up so, and their plenipotentiaries so nettled, that they seem resolved to press matters, and I am advertised by a particular friend, that this province of Utrecht have sent out their resolution to their deputies at the States General, that they will not differ with the Queen for the amendments proposed to the Barriere treaty, nor dispute the English having entirely the assiento; this resolution will startle the warrior party at the Hague, for it was this province began so about the passports, and so the rest of the provinces followed, and I am assured already Gelder and Groningen will send the same resolution to the States General, and as I have very good reason to believe, Zeeland will do the like, and Feize; if we can't carry it the other way we shall this, which will in truth take up time, but will be sure, if they see we in England are firmly resolved to pursue the methods we have taken, and will declare for a plan that gives reasonable satisfaction to our allies; it is expecting that alone makes these people go so far as they do, and they will certainly fall off if they see us wavering, besides I believe it is necessary the French should see we have resolution and power to end the matter when we please; our endeavours I do assure your Lordship shall be employed to the utmost, and I hope now in a little time your Lordship will reap the fruit of your labours, and have the general applause of all Europe, as well as of your own Queen and country."

*Postscript.*—"In discourse with Buys in the last conference we had with the Dutch he asked me being the time was expired in May of the French contract for the assiento and that the Indians could no more live without negroes than bread, who were to find them the French or us, I told we, and that they had showed us that though the war continued we might carry on that commerce with Spain as they had done theirs with France all the war." *Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. May 3. Four days.

1712, June 12. Thursday.—"Being perfectly sensible of the great press of business you have upon your hands makes me rather choose to give you this trouble in writing than to detain you in talking to you on account of my regiment in the first place, which I hope your Lordship will be pleased to order forthwith to be put upon the English establishment, and to let Eckling's which is actually an Irish regiment be put again upon that establishment. I need not tell your Lordship that mine is the first regiment of dragoons in England, and suffers extremely being unpaid, and fixed on no establishment. I must in the next place beg of your Lordship to consider the vast expense we must naturally be at in Utrecht, wherefore I must pray your Lordship that we may be paid quarterly as our pay becomes due, for we at that congress are upon another foot than



those other ministers who resides at Courts, and so I hope we may justly pretend to be distinguished in our payments; the late ministry agreed when Lord Townshend went over, that he should be paid regularly as he was, in regard of the great necessity there is to spend ready money at a congress. I protest to your Lordship I must pay 800*l.* as soon as I return which is due for house rent, being obliged to pay yearly four and twenty hundred pounds, only for house rent in Holland, which is almost half of my allowance. I hope your Lordship will take this into your serious consideration.

I must likewise take the liberty to solicit your Lordship for a letter to the Exchequer to pay 500*l.* upon a warrant signed by your Lordship in September last, due to me on my farm of the post fines.

I need not trouble your Lordship any more for tallies for my extra extraordinaries, nor ordering me some money before I return, your Lordship being so good to give me your promise you would take care it should be done, nor likewise what is further designed for me, since you have given me hopes I shall know it to-day or to-morrow morning, and I avoided waiting on the Queen because I depend more on your Lordship's kindness for me than any interest I can myself make with her. Really I desire to owe my good fortune to your Lordship who shall always find me most punctually and most faithfully," &c.

1712, June 21. St. James's Square.—“Being as your Lordship knows extremely pressed in time, and having but this single opportunity, though I know this is a very busy day with you, yet your Lordship must give me leave to acquaint that the memorial of several hardships put upon my regiment being referred by your Lordship to the Contróllers and afterwards to Mr. Bridges, both which have reported them reasonable to be redressed, and the sending of an officer six years ago from Spain on purpose to solicit relief in these hardships was very expensive to the regiment at which time he obtained her Majesty's warrant for 757*l.* 15*s.* part of those hardships we now complain of, and desire redress by your Lordship.

I can't doubt of your Lordship's justice in ordering at least the warrant to be paid according to Mr. Bridges's report out of the money given this year for the service of Spain, or out of any other money your Lordship shall think fit.

As to the rest of the hardships that have and others that have not yet been before your Lordship I hope the Commissioners for stating the debts due to the army will redress.

I once more desire your Lordship's order for the payment of the Queen's warrant, great part of which has been advanced by the agent three years ago in paying bills drawn by the several captains on the credit of it.

I likewise desire your Lordship will be pleased according to your promise to order the said royal regiment to be forthwith

put again upon the English establishment, for till that is done most of the officers especially corporals, sergeants, drums, &c. are in almost a starving condition, if some present care for subsisting of them is not taken."

1712, <sup>July 6</sup><sub>June 25</sub>. N.S. 12 o'clock noon, on board the *Perigrin* in the mouth of the Maze.—"Rolling and tossing till the tide serves to get over the flats into the Maze I venture in a few words to return my thanks to you for all the marks and proofs of your friendship to me which are not thrown away, for I shall ever acknowledge them with the utmost gratitude.

The Dutch pilot tells us Quincy was taken two days ago and that now the war will continue some time longer in spite of the English. On reflection I think the taking of this place will make us more masters of affairs than we were, for there is a mighty difference between exposing the Germans and Dutch engaged in a siege and the foreigners in the Queen's pay marching off with the Duke of Ormonde and now staying with him when he shall have declared a cessation and that he will second no more enterprises either in attacking the enemy nor any of their places for should the others have a mind to it, foreigners can't now leave the Duke of Ormonde either to attack or besiege a town which would be a sort of desertion after the declaration the Queen has made, and Monsieur Gaultier may be easily made sensible of this that if they deliver us up Dunkirk the work is done at once for it is certain now we are masters of the cessation. I shall trouble your Lordship again from the Hague where I hope to be to-night." *Endorsed by Oxford.*

R. June 28.

1712, July <sup>15<sup>th</sup></sup><sub>5<sup>th</sup></sub>. The camp at Chateau Cambrisis.—"It is impossible for me to say any thing more to your Lordship to-night than just to refer you to Mr. St. John's letters he has from me, which are but too ample, but things are here in so extraordinary a crisis, that last night they made many uneasy but now being empowered to declare our cessation, to-morrow it will quiet peoples' minds extremely else you will observe the consideration of our allies for us. I shall only add that Monsieur Bewlau pretended to make me a confidencee that what the Elector did was because he saw himself neglected and had no previous communication of what the Queen intended and knew nothing but by her speech, and that so far from sending anyone over to him, Mr. Harley who was named to come to him during the setting of Parliament to satisfy them, was detained in Holland, only to show the little regard the Queen and ministers have for him, in short the behaviour of Beulau in all this matter has been very extraordinary. The English troops seem pleased with the thoughts of peace when I came and that night in their tents some of the guards were heard to say amongst themselves, well we shall now have peace, but they say the Elector

of Hanover opposes it, and sides against the English, if he dares do that now, what must we expect from him when he is our King. I was assured by an officer he heard a foot soldier say this, two months want of the Queen's money, and a cessation by sea in the Channel for the English, whilst the Dutch are at war, will soon make them and our foreign deserters glad to come into our measures and that we will help them out of the mire, I take this to be their last flash." *Endorsed by Oxford.* E. Strafford without date. Shyroll, July 16, 1712. R. July 10.

1712, July  $\frac{21}{10}$ . At the camp at Fleurival.—“The security of the Queen's army by Ghent is no less worth wishing your Lordship joy of, than the possession of Dunkirk, for as the last is a pledge of the French King's faith, so we may make Ghent a pledge of the States', and Emperor's, for there is nothing they apprehend more than the English having Ghent and Brudges both which this little army may now be master of. I do assure your Lordship there was a time just before the auxiliaries separated from us, I should have been glad to have been assured this body of English—which is the finest body for its bigness ever was seen—was secure in the situation they now are, and in that manner that the Dutch themselves have nothing to say against it, but only to shake their heads and show their uneasiness at it. We kept our design of marching hither so secret that I durst not venture it to a letter before, least in making it up it might have been discovered, and all the generals as well as the Dutch and their friends took the change and thought we have been marching towards Ypres, which made them so easy, and carry things so high at the time of our marching from them, I thought it by no means proper to run out of their country into that of France, it would have had an ill air till we had made our peace. This is really conformable to the rest of the Queen's actions, this is an assurance becoming her troops, who procure their own safety without being obliged to either side, but now on the contrary by Dunkirk we have acted on France and by Ghent on Holland, and still give the Dutch time to repent and come into the Queen's measures, before she is obliged to make her separate peace. By this means we secure all our stores which is dispersed in several of the Dutch garrisons, which had else actually been in danger but now we may make reprisals when we please else I should not have ventured to have gone as I did to see their two famous towns of Tournay and Lisle; for their expressions and behaviour were intolerable till they saw we were going to Ghent and then they changed their tone, and Count Humpesh talked to me in the most humble manner possible. I gave him all the encouragement imaginable if the States would yet come into the Queen's measures and assurances that she had not yet made her own peace nor did not design them the least prejudice, &c. By our situation at Ghent we can establish an easy correspondence



with Dunkirk without passing but very little of the States dominions, as the undertakers had made great provision for the Queen's army, all those provisions will be carried to Ghent, and may if you please be transported to Dunkirk as may likewise the train of artillery, &c., if you think it proper for us to quit our hold at Ghent. This desertion of the foreigners, will save the Queen and nation a great deal being there is only the small corps of English and a very few strangers to pay; for those few strangers I hope your Lordship will empower us so to pay them, that it may be an example of her Majesty's gratitude, and at the same time a reproach and punishment to those who left her. As for the two general officers Bernerd and Wallif the Queen is obliged to take some immediate care of them since the Dutch have dared to turn them out of their service only for obeying the Queen.

On this occasion I must take notice to your Lordship that there is six English battalions that have been a long while in the Dutch service, and they deserve we should recall them, but perhaps that might look too much like a breach with the States, but on the other side when they have taken auxiliaries of the Queen's from her, she may very well recall her subjects in return from them. Besides now the French have declared a cessation with the English, and finding them in the other army may suspect we have not kept our words with them it will not be good to lessen yet the number of the Queen's few troops here, on the other side I think the garrison of Dunkirk is not large enough and one can easily send from hence what more troops you please besides you will want at this juncture troops in England, in which case you can raise nothing so soon as my regiment and others which have been prisoners in Spain, because their officers are ready and in pay and without the greatest injustice in the world they must be raised again though the peace was made, and now there will be so much money of the foreigners saved that may help them and others if it is necessary; I beg your Lordship to make serious reflection on this. I am told the Dutch have already paid some little sums to those strangers that have left us but I believe it cannot hold. I believe your Lordship won't think I do amiss to stay here a day or two longer till I have your Lordship's orders and from Utrecht how matters goes there since these transactions, that I may take my measures just, for the Queen's service in my going thither. All these difficulties hitherto has but served to put you more in the right and to make the Dutch more in the wrong, and I think your Lordship's friends could not wish things should go otherwise than they do. It is now almost demonstration that had the Queen's troops stayed in the great army they could not have attacked the French nor have advanced any operation of the campaign so that it is no more than detaching fifteen thousand men to take a town of consequence and certainly we could not have any of more than

that of Dunkirk. When the Dutch see the cessation at sea as well as at land declared I am sure they will and must soon come to. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. July 13. Sunday. Three days.

1712, <sup>August 5</sup><sub>July 25</sub>. Utrecht.—“One perceives easily the great apprehension and mortification these people lie under, which I hope will soon bring them to embrace the Queen’s measures, besides there is a jealousy crept amongst them, as if the Prince Eugene was not displeased at the loss of their troops and stores, and at the close of this day’s conference, it was plain, though they talked of Strasburg for the empire, and Sicily for the Emperor, yet they would be contented to obtain in ample satisfaction, Lille for themselves, added to what they flatter themselves is designed them by the Queen’s speech, and I am persuaded they want but their own satisfaction, to leave all their allies in the lurch, they don’t like depending upon the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire. Since Count Sinzendorf t’other day asked the Pensionary that the Emperor might be inaugurated in the Low Countries, upon which the Pensionary only answered nobody doubts but the Low Countries will be left to the Emperor, but Count Sinzendorf replying that was not the question, he would have his consent that the Emperor might be inaugurated immediately, but not being able to draw any other answer from the Pensionary he left him with great dissatisfaction, and it was two days ere they were reconciled by the means of Bothmar and other friends.

Marechall d’Huxelles was a long time yesterday with me, he is very indifferent whether we get any of the auxiliaries into the cessation or no, saying that we must see either to get the Emperor or Dutch in, and that ends all at once. He seems to think the abbot Polignac too angry against the Dutch, and willing himself to end all at once with them, if he could. We shall soon see what is to be made of these dispositions, for if we gain the Dutch all is ended at once, but as I find they won’t come into the cessation but would conclude the peace at once, events which are likely to happen in the mean time at the army will change them backwards and forwards so, that one can’t tell what judgment to make of them yet.

I have mortified the King of Prussia’s ministers who I find still shuffling, and indeed I believe it is better for the Queen to be without them now, and to stand to what she declared of paying none of them any more pay or arrears. Pray let me know your Lordship’s pleasure upon it.

Monsieur Torey writes me a compliment upon the Queen’s troops coming to Gant and I do think I have a merit in that and should be glad your Lordship thought had any besides that of which you must be convinced of.”

*Postscript.*—“Amsterdam is wavering and will come in for peace very soon.”

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. July 31. Six days.

1712, <sup>August 9</sup><sub>July 29</sub>. Utrecht.—“I venture to continue writing, though till I hear an answer from your Lordship, I do not know whether your Lordship does not think me troublesome and officious, to write to you apart, when you may be apprized of everything in my despatches to the Secretary. But as I flatter myself with the honour of your friendship, and have your promise for it, I take all ways I can think on to improve it, and as this is the most critical juncture has been, since the negotiation, I would know your Lordship’s true design and sentiments, that as I profess an entire attachment to your person and interest, I may direct my endeavours in every thing for the advantage of both, and to second effectually your sentiments. And I desire to know clearly which you would have, that we should force the Dutch into the Queen’s measures, and clip their Barriere so short, that it might be of no great use to them, if ever they should fall out with our nation, and so show them what is the Queen’s resentment for their obstinate behaviour during all this negotiation and that by making the Queen’s peace without theirs they may be left to beg our assistance to obtain them moderate terms from the French, who in all probability will be stiff, at the end of the campaign, if the Queen makes her separate peace and they end as advantageously as their military affairs seems to be in at present. Or would your Lordship all at once end the war and have the States General submit entirely to the terms of the Queen’s speech, and renew a strict union and friendship with Her Majesty, and even enter into a mutual guarantee for securing for the future all the acquisitions we shall obtain from France. Now is the time—without some unforeseen accident—to do which you will. I have had the same person with me this morning who spoke to me in the manner I mentioned in my letter to your Lordship of the 2nd inst. Tournay and Condé he has convinced me they must have to save the party—who really wish well to your Lordship and your ministry—from being reproached by the others, as betrayers of their country, he has this day given me more bold and positive assurance that they will immediately accept the terms of the Queen’s speech, and end with her all at once without entering into a cessation, which we think is the best way, for they would have the same difficulty to get their provinces consent to a cessation as to get them to consent to a peace on the Queen’s terms all at once. The warrior party is now quite down, and those for peace are up and triumph and I believe your Lordship would do well to show a distinction, and not write nor let Van H. write any more to Dewenvorden who is the hottest violentest person can be, against the Queen’s terms of peace. Tournay and Condé secures this State sufficiently, and justifies the Queen’s proceedings for now and hereafter, and if the Dutch come into us and enters into a guarantee with the Queen, what



can any one say the next Parliament, nay they will do it in such a manner that the Emperor, and German's behaviour to them will more than amply justify what high time it was for these two powers to shake off those allies who only aimed at our treasure, and were at the same time we employed them, dangerous ; the Dutch do now most certainly apprehend them extremely.

Your Lordship I know has many intelligencers from hence, but you will see by their variation how little is to be depended upon them ; I will set a little the present posture of affairs here before your Lordship, for you to determine upon, and you may depend upon what I send you not to be partial, for however I have been represented by these people I really have no resentment against them, and would willingly help them where I don't find it repugnant to my Queen and country's interest.

Since our separation the noise of our general cessation by sea as well as land, and their great misfortunes at their army ; those who were for the continuation of the war are under the greatest consternation imaginable, they apprehend violence against themselves, and confusion and ruin in their country. Those for peace who were kept under by the torrent before, now crow, blame the violence of the other party, and say, had they been believed, things had not come to this extremity ; they have carried things so far, as to force a consentment immediately from the States General, even without consent of their provinces to make a plan, which but for Strasburg and Sicily is calculated for the interest alone of this State, and leaving their allies in the lurch, the Emperor's ministers and those of the empire not being consulted in this plan, are enraged at it, and begin to talk as foolishly against the Dutch as they used to do against us, they have calculated that the Dutch have not above thirty battalions national in the army, and that even without them, Prince Eugene will have an army of eighty thousand Germans in these countries, who are flattered with the hopes that if the Dutch does leave them, as the Low Countries are to be the Emperor's, it shall be divided amongst them for their winter quarters, to recompense them for the loss of pay, though the Emperor sacrifices the ruin of those countries to the continuation of the war. This violence, though impracticable, alarms both parties, who certainly think they can't too soon throw themselves into the Queen's arms ; Ghent and Bruges, in our possession instead of being a pain to them, is now their greatest comfort, as the only thing can save them from the resentment of the Germans, should they be mad enough to put their wild projects in execution, and as I am assured by a great man that orders are sent to their field deputies not to consent to risk a battle, till they see at least what effect these offers to the Queen will have, and what is the result of all their provinces who are now extraordinarily assembled to determine, whether they will accept the terms of the Queen's speech or no,

and next week the States of the province of Holland meet to give their final determination, at which time the other provinces will send theirs, and will not do it in secret, as formerly, but will declare their resolutions openly to have an effect on the rest ; three of the seven I am assured will declare immediately to accept of the Queen's offers, and to treat upon the terms of her speech, and in the province of Holland Amsterdam is now resolved likewise to declare for the peace, as are the towns of Brill and Dort, and if, as I am told, Amsterdam will declare they will give no more money to carry on the war, that must determine the province of Holland, which with the other three makes the majority : so that it signifies nothing what opinion the other remaining provinces are of, though it is not to be doubted but Zeeland always follows Holland, and the other two are too poor to stand out.

The French continue to say they will stand to the terms of the Queen's speech if the Dutch will accept of them in time, which I really now believe they will, if they can be sure of Tournay and Condé, they press extremely for Strasburg as what would justify their obliging the Emperor, in such a time to accept of the terms offered him, I have convinced them, that it is as much our interest as theirs to get Strasburg if we thought we could obtain it from France, but that to the pass things were come to, it was neither of our interests to lose the peace for that one town.

Mr. Walcut I hear is gone with all the money designed for the foreign troops to Antwerp to make but one *comptoir* for the Queen's troops who are now in a small number, and altogether. This is what will show these auxiliaries—and I am sure will make them repent—that the Queen really resents their behaviour. I am sure it was a right step to make them quit the Queen's troops, and not for her troops to have quitted them. The Dutch I am informed are fitting out thirteen ships for the Baltic in which case I believe the Queen should fit out twenty for the same station, since if we agree with the Dutch and join our fleets, it is fit the Queen's should be the most in number, and if we do not join with the Dutch it is fit in reference to our eastern trade that we should always be superior in shipping to our rivals in that trade.

Your Lordship will be pleased to give some order about the paying of the battalion of Ottenghen who not having been in the camp can't be accused of that disobedience as the others, there was something remaining on the last year, when that battalion was entirely on the Queen's pay, and having renewed the treaty this year, there is the half pay of the Queen's due to that battalion since the commencement of the new treaty, which I signed with the States by the Queen's order, and I believe if your Lordship would order their being paid off you may at the same time let them be acquainted that the Queen having no more occasion after such a time for the service of that

battalion the Prince may dispose of it as he pleases. Mr. Bridges will be further informed about this battalion.

I hope your Lordship is pleased to remember your humble servant since I see several changes made, but none like to affect me, which I was in hopes would have been before this time, and on the assurance of your favour I entirely rely."

*Postscript.*—"I am just now told by one that the letters by way of Bruxelles assure the Pretender is dead."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Aug. 1. Three days.

1712, August  $\frac{30}{19}$ . Utrecht.—"The minute I received the honour of your Lordship's of the  $\frac{12}{23}$  I set me down to write to Mr. Harley in obedience to your Lordship's commands, and despatched the courier to him at Hanover that very night with a copy of Azzurini's memorial, and an account as ample as I could give him of that matter, in which I did not spare Bothmar's proceedings. I likewise gave him an account of the other point with all the reasons I could think on to induce the Elector to take measures with the Queen about the affairs of the north, and I hope it will have a good effect and the Elector's eyes will be opened to his own interest, for he has been extremely misled. I writ by the same messenger a letter to the Electress, in which I spoke very plain to her on those two heads and could not help to introduce a good story of Count Passionée the Pope's minister here, who some weeks ago being in company at Count Sinzendorf's with Monsieur Bothmar, Monsieur Bothmar began to be pleasant upon him and told him, as he was speaking of the fine libraries in England and how learning flourished there and how he longed to go over, that he might stay till a peace and then he might go to do his master's business there, upon which Count Passionée answered him, that he had no need to go thither now since there had been one lately there who had done the Pope's his master's business there better than he could pretend to do. Upon which every one seeing it was meant to Bothmar laughed at the reply, but Bothmar was so out of countenance that he was obliged to leave the company. I own I have a pleasure to see that coxcomb Bothmar neglected as he is here by almost every one; for now Count Sinzendorf is making his master's court to us, till he sees the success of the project sent to your Lordship he takes little or no notice of Bothmar, finding he is by no means agreeable to the English, and I never saw a fellow more dejected than he seems to be at present.

I believe our general conferences will be opened again next Saturday, and if it has no other, at least it will have this good effect to show the Queen's ministers have not been wanting to keep up to their first principle of having the conference continue general, and this is an act of mediation, for in effect all the allies now own the Queen mediatrix.

The French have received a courier yesterday from Fontainebleau, and tell us the general cessation by sea and land is signed



and published on both sides, and that all things else are settled ; we wait every minute to receive a messenger to know how we must proceed. I find we are like to stay here some time, for they tell me the Duke of Hambleton is to go Ambassador to France and Lord Lexington for Spain, to see the renunciation made before the Queen's peace can be signed. Indeed my Lord as my house hire here and at the Hague costs me above four and twenty hundred pounds a year and my expense being at least one third part more than Lord Privy Seals, without entirely ruining myself and running more in debt than I shall ever be able to pay, I can't support this expense without some other assistance from the Queen ; for what I thought I could have made shift with, when the congress seemed to be but of a short duration comes too hard upon me now it is spun out so long. Your Lordship is pleased to say that place is kept open for me ; why may I not fill it now ? since it does not demand my immediate attendance, and the world knows it is promised me, at least now all embassy's are filled up the world may see it is not I myself that am forced to say things are promised me and my services approved, but that there really is some proof of it given. Pardon me my Lord for assuring you I grow very melancholy and much dejected, for besides the prospect I have, I am daily tormented for money I have promised to pay, and my agents write me word they can get none from the Exchequer. I leave it to your Lordship's friendship and equity to judge, in the middle of all the work of reconciling different interests &c. I ought to have this addition of concern. I resolved when I sat down to write, not to have troubled your Lordship on my own account, but I can't help it, my heart is too full for my hand to forbear when I am writing to your Lordship."

*Postscript.*—"The Dutch are hasty to begin the negotiation again. The Germans not the French have just sent us word the fort Desearp surrendered the 27th."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Aug. 22.

#### THE BISHOP OF BRISTOL TO THE LORD TREASURER.

1712, <sup>September 6</sup><sub>August 26</sub>. Utrecht.—I humbly thank your Lordship for ordering me a quarter's allowance, as soon as it became due, and for directing the payment of it at 300*l.* a week. This supply was very kindly designed and agreeable to your promise. But the orders for postponing the payments, that have been weekly renewed for these two months, have turned all my thankful sense into very melancholy and discouraging reflections. I told you, my Lord, before I undertook this employment, that I was not able to bear the expense of it without punctual supplies, or perhaps anticipations ; even though I did not then foresee, that I was to pay 1500*l.* a year for house rent ; which is not much short of one third part of the ordinary allowance Her Majesty is pleased to make me.

Hitherto, my Lord, I have made a shift to subsist, but to do so, have been forced to draw hither above a thousand pounds of my own money, and have thereby for the present quite drained that source : so that in a word, I must either be relieved or give over.

I tell your Lordship this in time, having wherewith to subsist for one month, and cannot but hope I shall in that time either be enabled to support the expense of the post, Her Majesty has been pleased to place me in, or at liberty to dispose of myself in such manner as my private circumstances shall require.

I am still upon my first principle, my Lord, that I do not propose to myself to gain twopence by this employment either in present advantages or future expectations, and therefore cannot but think it so much the more reasonable that I be not a loser, and ruined by it.

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to the LORD TREASURER.

1712, September 1<sup>3</sup>. Hague.—“ Though I have not obtained the employment I writ to your Lordship about, and find that of master of the ordnance given to the Duke of Hambleton ; but hope that of the regiment may be exchanged for mine, which will content any new pretender as well, and I am sure no one has a better pretension to that regiment of horse, that was Lord Rivers, than I have. Princee George was so sensible of it, that he promised me his interest for it at the time it was given the Duke of Northumberland, and afterwards told me with many excuses how the Queen was obliged to give it to that Duke, yet my Lord I have many thanks and acknowledgments to render your Lordship for your most obliging and kind letter of the 6th and the trouble you was at in sending me the account of the appointment of the ordnanee, and don't in the least question but your Lordship will see this post you have been pleased to obtain for me, will be every way as good to me, as it was to Lord Orford. I wish my Lord I may be capable to execute it as I ought, I assure you my endeavours shall never be wanting, and do once more return your Lordship my humble thanks for this convincing mark of your favour, which comes very seasonably for I own I have been extremely dejected seeing my expense so very far exceed my allowance, and the payments of that postponed, but my Lord, as I am now thoroughly convinced of your Lordship's friendship for me, I shall trouble you no more on my own account ; depending as you have begun, you will continue to distinguish me as your humble servant, and when you know there is a chapter to be called, I hope you will give me notice to make a trip over for a week or ten days, which time I may well be spared from our congress, for most of the ministers spend as much time here, as there, since now, as all things follows the resolutions of the States General, matters are as well managed here as there. I designed to have returned to Utrecht to-morrow, but am pressed

to stay here by the leading men, who were never more perplexed than they are now, they see they can't long go on, nor know not well how to come off, but their necessities will soon make them submit to the Queen and entirely lay their interest at her feet. My chief errand was, to talk to the Pensionary about Azzurini, pursuant to your Lordship's former letter, he seemed to be in a great concern, and protested to me he had not seen Azzurini, he expostulated my unkindness in harbouring such hard thoughts of him, but I soon turned that upon him, that he should entertain such of me, and encourage villains to frame intrigues against your Lordship and me, he told me he had answered Van Hulst's letter, and would do any thing I could propose to justify the little hand he had in this matter laid to his charge; he owned the letter of Van der Dussen, but said it was brought him by one Bernvel a friend of Azzurini and not by Azzurini which I believe is true, and I know, that Barnwell to be a sad fellow, he was a major in King James's time, and would undertake any thing for money. It may be the Pensionary did not actually see this Azzurini, nor encourage the matter so far as was reported, though I gave him convincing reasons that there had been tampering with that fellow, Count Sinzendorf knew him, and owned he had seen him and Bothmar himself gave me a convincing proof he had seen and held correspondence with him, and showed me a letter Azzurini had writ him asking him for money; besides since Bothmar owned to me he had sent another letter to Hanover, and yet your Lordship knows even that was denied to your cousin there, and this I know that upon your Lordship's letter, Sinzendorf, Bothmar, Van der Dussen, and the Pensionary was together before I came hither, I suppose to know what answer to make me, because each was in the same tone of their knowing the fellow to be a rascal, and Count Sinzendorf to prove it, showed me a paper that I believe by the substance of it was meant to be sent to your Lordship, and formerly intercepted by Sinzendorf, for I was a sort of discovery of contrivances against you, how the Germans were incensed against you, and would murder you, but that Count Sinzendorf had put it off and said this was not the proper time it was best to be done in winter, &c., and such stuff as that, so that Count Sinzendorf said he hoped I would do him justice, and not believe that after he had such a paper as that in his hands, he could trust such a fellow and on this occasion professed much respect for your Lordship, &c. This morning Van der Dussen was with me, on the same subject told me indeed he had seen Azzurini, but the letter he sent the Pensionary was to introduce Barnewell and not t'other, that indeed he heard the story of t'other, who Barnewell brought him but did not answer him one word, that he told him he and his father first set matters of peace on foot in England, that your Lordship had 500,000 pistoles, Lord Bolingbroke 200,000, &c. I told him for my part



I was satisfied enough since they and all honest men must be convinced what an impostor that fellow was, and that this would show them what inventions there are in the world to blacken the Queen's government and ministers, and that it ought to be their care to detect and prevent it, upon which the discourse of the insolencies of the Dutch gazetteers was brought up, and both he Buys, and the old Pensionary have promised care should be taken for the future, they would have excused the liberty of their gazettes by accusing our papers, I told them I defied them to find the least indecent thing in our gazettes whatever might be spread in other papers, not licensed, and that I never complained but of the gazette of Amsterdam which was the only one was by authority, and that was the most scandalous.

I am afraid my letter will grow too long and yet I think it for the service to give you a view of what has passed since my coming hither, which I will do as briefly as I can, and beg your Lordship to send me freely and clearly your thoughts upon the matter for my guidance, which I assure you, is all the use I shall ever make of them.

I found in the first place both by the Pensionary, who I went to see on my arrival here, and Count Sinzendorf who came to see me, as likewise by general report, that it was expected I was come hither to declare to all the allies that the Queen desired them to accept a general cessation and that she would take care France should agree to it, but I soon disabused them, and told them all my orders were, that in case any ally desired us to speak to the French for a cessation for them, we had Her Majesty's orders to propose it to the French, I could not forbear insinuating to them that I wondered they could imagine the Queen would attempt to make them such an offer considering how she had been treated, when she formerly made it them, besides they could not expect the French would now agree to it, when they had rejected it because of an imaginary advantage, whereas the French had real ones. Since having taken Douai they were masters of besieging Quesnoi in which was all the great artillery and stores used at the siege of Quesnoi and intended for that of Landrecie. Count Sinzendorf talked to me of a letter to Hofman which declared we had orders to make such a proposition to the allies, but I told him, Hoffman must have mistaken, on which he showed me my Lord Dartmouth's letter to Hofman, but I soon convinced him that it contained no more than what I had told him before we had received orders for, which was in case they desired it, we should propose it to the French. He then owned he had read the letter over in haste and had mistaken it, but expostulating to me, what did such an order as that signify if we did not know whether the French would agree to a cessation or no. I told him it was meant for their service that in case, upon our armistice by sea and the Dutch sending home their squadron from the Mediterranean, the Empire's and the German troops might be put to

straits in Catalonia, and therefore not being able to do anything on the Rhine, and losing ground in Flanders the Emperor might think it best to desire a cessation in which ease, as no doubt they would not care to address themselves to the French, we are ready to undertake that task for them, and if he pleased we would speak to the French about it. He told me as yet he could give me no answer, that he longed for your Lordship's answer to the points sent over, which you had promised should be sent me next post. I told him as soon as I received it I would acquaint him of it, he repeated again—Let the Queen only say what she designs the Emperor and we shall be satisfied, he added that a partition in Spain and the Indies they did not insist upon no more than on all the Barrier they asked for Germany. He took notice of the report of the Duke of Savoy being to have Sicily; my answer was he knew it was once reported that Princee was to have Spain, in short we parted and he seemed content to stay till he should have an answer from England to the points proposed by the Emperor for a new treaty of alliance.

The States are likewise for having the Queen declare to them what it is she can obtain from France for them, and I believe they were never so really inclined as now to submit to what the Queen thinks fit to do for them; since they were never so much in danger before, and as one of the States General, who was always for peace, told me to-day, he told one of them who was for continuing the war formerly, but changed now, that it was wonderful, that they must have misfortune upon misfortune before their eyes can be opened to see their own interest.

My counsel to them is to make what haste they can to give the French satisfaction and renew the conferences by which they will soon see what it is France would give them, and how the Queen would employ her good offices to procure what ever she could for their advantage.

I own to your Lordship I don't encourage them to demand a cessation and should be sorry the French would allow it them, being nothing but the want of that liberty by sea the English have can determine them to peace, and that will effectually, for the town of Amsterdam will not think of carrying on the war whilst all commerce is stopped to them and open to the English, but if by a cessation Amsterdam enjoyed the same privilege they would not care what measures those took who are for war to stave off the treaty of peace, which I take to be our business to get concluded before the overture of next sessions of Parliament.

To-morrow they will determine about giving the reparation to the French for the affront by Count Reekeven, which done they will be for beginning the conference as soon as possible.

There are three different plans on the *tapis*. One is to take fresh measures with the Emperor and confederates to carry

on the war till a more favourable conjuncture, and many projects are on foot how to raise money, some say the whigs in England offer to lend a good sum and the States will set up another lottery. But the majority seems to be for the other, which is to begin as soon as possible the negotiation to see what they can obtain from France, and what the Queen can and will obtain for them.

There are a great many of another mind, which is to let your Lordship know underhand the ultimatum they will accept—which is according to the Queen's speech—and leave to Her Majesty to procure as much more as she can and will for them, hoping by this to pique the Queen on generosity.

Some few are for sticking up at any rate with the French, whose friendship may be of use to them as they say in time of peace but the close of this week's assembly of the States of Holland will determine which measure they will take. By what I find by Slingerland and others who have the most to say Tournay yielded will set all right and bring all parties into peace.

I can't help repeating to your Lordship, I think they have no sure barrier without Tournay, and as the French offered it **once** we must keep them to it, or else we really give up too much, after a ten years successful war, and Tournay is of greater consequence for the security of Europe than is at first imagined, nor can the Queen without procuring them that post, say she has secured them a strong and sufficient barrier, pray my Lord let me desire you to lay the map before you, and you will find that without Tournay they have nothing between Bruxelles, Loven and Antwerp, &c., but Ath which is of no strength nor covers no country, the only good argument and which is a good one for an Englishman to use, is that after the mutual dissatisfaction the Dutch and we have lately expressed at one another we should take care not to help them to an aggrandizement in the Low Countries which may be fatal to us and our commerce there. In answer to this no one can deny but it is our interest, the States and the Catholic Low Countries should be secured, if we can do it without aggrandizing the States, a project is come into my head, which may effect it, and what will I believe be accepted of by the Dutch; on which I desire your Lordship to be pleased to consider, the barrier as it is now settled is, Ostende and Neuport, to the Emperor; Furnes, Knock, Ipres, Menen, Tournai, Charleroy and Namure for the Dutch, and Mons and Audinarde for the Emperor. Now my Lord I am for taking Mons and Audinarde from the Emperor to give the Dutch, and from them I would take Ipres, Knock and Furnes to give the Emperor in exchange, and what the value of Mons and Audinarde wants to make up for Ipres, Knock and Furnes, letting the Dutch have Tournay, would make amends.



By this means your Lordship will please to observe all the province of Flanders would remain to the Emperor, and the revenues of Ipres is more worth than all the rest of the Barrier. By this means Ostende and Neuport would not be in danger from the Dutch, nor would they have any thing to do with our commeree nor be aggrandized on the sea side. But in recompense they would have the rivers Lis and Scheld to cover their flank from any invasion, Menen and Cortraix on the Lis, and Tournay and Audinarde to cover them on the Scheld, and as if they had Condé they would have an impenetrable Barriere, and not a rich one, no one could say, but we have accomplished our utmost engagement, made them secure, without making them rich, then without dispute either the castle of Ghent or Dendermont would be a sufficient passage and communication to their Barrier without their pretending a necessity to have both as they do now. Your Lordship will please to observe that Tournay has but a little revenue about it, whereas Ipres has a vast one, and in effect is no Barrier at all to the Dutch, who are impenetrable on that side, since they are covered by the canal of Bruges, then by the several Dutch towns behind that canal, and next by a great arm of the sea, and if we don't obtain Tournay for them, we really—except Ipres—obtain no more from France by a ten years victorious war, than we did at the peace of Rysick, besides leaving Spain and the Indies to the House of Bourbon. I really am not in this partial to the Dutch, but to Her Majesty's honour and your ministry, for if we obtain this Tournay, and fix the Barriere as I mention it, I defy envy itself to say the Queen has not left the Dutch entirely secure against France, and yet see my Lord how much these Dutch fall short of their views by the treaty of Barrier, Maubuge, Valanciennes, Condé, Quesnoy, Bouchain, Douai, Lisle, Bethune, Aire and St. Venant, besides Neuport given to the Emperor and what shall be allotted him on the Rhine and Meuse which the Dutch expected to have for themselves. Your Lordship will likewise please to observe that Tournay is all will exceed the very first propositions of France which was so intolerably cried out against.

Besides my Lord here is a difficulty without Tournay which was mentioned in Lord Privy Seal's despatch and mine, that the French to save Tournay will declare they mean to except Lisle for equivalent for Dunkirk, besides the three places of Tournay, Condé and Maubuge mentioned in the preliminaries of 1709, and yet the Queen says, the Dutch shall have all mentioned in that Barrier, except two or three places at most; now if they except four, then the Queen's speech is not accomplished, and what the consequence of that will be, I leave to your Lordship to judge as well as of the rest.

Long as my letter is I must add this word of advice that your Lordship should take great care how you trust Monsieur Stinchens with your confidence. I doubt he does not make so

good a use of it as he ought. I am advised he and Maffai compiled a book in French makes a great noise called *Les soupîres d'Europe sur l'Harangue de la Reine* in which there are several malicious expressions against our Government. I was surprised when I was informed Maffai was one of the authors, though I know he has a great attachment for the late ministry I thought the gratitude for what was done for his master would have blunted at least the point of his malice. Your Lordship will be pleased not to make use of my name though I will send next post to Lord Bullingbrook copy of the letter writ to acquaint Lord Privy Seal of it.

As I began so my thanks must conclude my letter and desires of the continuation of your friendship."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Sept. 4, at night. Two days.

1712, September, 1<sup>st</sup>. Hague.—“In as few words as I can, not to tire your Lordship, nor repeat any thing in my relation to Lord Bolingbrook, give me leave to tell you, that the cry of all our people for peace here is, only that we would let them know what Barrier they are to have, and then they can resolve. I take it for granted your Lordship would rather have them sign the peace with us than not, and to bring them to that, you must empower me to speak plainly to the peaceable party which are our friends here, and when I know once what your Lordship is determined on, I shall know to take my measures and follow your intentions, and advance the work according to them.

The Pensionary was upon that subject to-night with me, he says he has writ two letters to Van Hulst to be shown you, and expects an answer to them, he hopes he has cleared himself of the affair of Azzurini and has regained your friendship, he was upon that topic of my being empowered to conclude with them I told him I would rather your Lordship would open yourself to him, that he, who is thought so much for war might have pleasure of being the first of telling the States the positive terms on which they may have peace. I assured him at the same time you valued his friendship, and that the Queen was ready to enter into a mutual guarantee with them and a firm alliance and friendship after the peace, which is what they seem to desire Your Lordship will please to determine about their pretension to the towns in the Upper Gelder which may be a Barrier against the Empire but none against France, and if we may leave them still the castle of Ghent and Dendermont or no.

I do really believe we may bring them, could we assure them Tournay, to sign their treaty with us before the meeting of the Parliament, for they give up their demands of Strasburg, &c. already, and quitting the Emperor will not cause them any pain."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Sept. 13. Eight days.

1712, September 2<sup>nd</sup>. Utrecht.—“I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 1<sup>st</sup> and am extremely pleased to see the

continuation of your kind and friendly assurances which I shall do my utmost to deserve.

I thought not to have troubled your Lordship any more about myself, but upon what my father in law and other of my friends write to me, I must once more beg your Lordship, more for their satisfaction than my own, to tell me what the Queen is pleased to design me, for I have it repeated from your Lordship as well as from the Queen herself that the employ she has given me in the Admiralty is to be entirely as Lord Orford had it both to the power and profit, and I assure your Lordship I do depend upon it, that you design it so, for in your last letter but one you are pleased to tell me the Queen in consideration of my service and expense is pleased to bestow that employment immediately upon me, and yet Sir Harry Johnson and some others of my friends write me word that having inquired they find this difference, that Lord Orford had but three or four Commissioners in the Admiralty under him that his power was much distinguished from theirs, and that as there is but 7000*l.* salary and being six besides myself in the commission I shall only have 1000*l.* a year and no more. Now as your Lordship was pleased to send me a very exact account what the appointments of the Master of the Ordnance is, I should think myself most infinitely obliged, would your Lordship be so kind to let me know what appointments I am to have with this employment designed me, that I may at once satisfy Sir Henry Johnson and the rest of my friends as well as myself, and remain no more in the doubt they are in at present. I must likewise beg to know of your Lordship whether you have made any reflection on the request I made you of having Lord Rivers regiment instead of my own. I need not repeat my pretensions to it, nor that any one who may pretend to that would be almost as well satisfied with my regiment of dragoons since I have laid that already before your Lordship, but as I depend entirely on your Lordship I once more entreat you to let me know at once what I am to have, that by the incertitude of my friends I may not be made continually uneasy whilst my whole thoughts should be employed to serve the Queen and nation as I ought and intend.

Van der Dussen has been with me this afternoon about the affair of Azzurini, he says the copy of the memorial you sent me is not the same of that was given him by Azzurini, the original of which he was going to give me as Marechal d'Huxelles came in, however he has promised I shall have it to-morrow to see the difference, for as he says there is more knaves than one employed in this matter, and that he has writ a letter to Van Hulst to be shown your Lordship for his justification in this affair.

The Marcehall seems rather inclined to stay here to conclude a peace with the Dutch than to remove from hence, but I believe his other new colleagues are rather for the latter. I have



very good reason to believe that assuring Tournay to the Dutch they would make peace to-morrow and leave the Imperialists alone to execute their wild projects.

I have sent the enclosed letter I received from your Lordship to Baron Honthelm and am very glad to hear by next post I shall have some thing particular to say to Count Sinzendorf who is very uneasy to hear it, for he has again repeated to me, that the paper he sent of the Emperor's pretensions was what he had liberty to depart from, and gave me to understand that as for the partition demanded in Spain and the Indies he never expected and should not insist upon it no more than on Alsatia, &c. However he was obliged *pro forma* to make those demands it being in writing, which might fall into other hands, but he often repeated you shall find us very reasonable. I think I gave you a hint of Steinkens, who certainly had a hand in that book *Les Supires*, &c., as well as Count Maffai, though Dumont had the putting of it together, but the greatest part was composed between Monsieur Steinkens and Maffai.

I don't question but your Lordship has good reason for recalling Mr. Harley and I shall be sure in his return to render him all the service lies in my power, since he has the honour of being related to you, for no man can be more than I Your most faithful, &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Sept. 15. 3 days.

1712, September  $\frac{27}{16}$ . Utrecht.—“Monsieur Van der Dussen has showed me the original memorials of Azzurini, and it does not stand there as in the copy your Lordship sent me that it was I, that writ him word not to give me the letter, but it was Mr. Stafford, though I believe one is as true as the other, and I am convinced a great deal was framed here, of all that matter Monsieur Van der Dussen tells me he has writ over to excuse himself to your Lordship about it. Poor dull Bothmar has been with me making several complaints, amongst the rest he told me your Lordship had told their resident that I had writ word I had seen a letter from Azzurini to him where he asked him for more money. I told him that I must own I had writ such a letter to your Lordship, and he might remember he showed me such a letter which he could not deny, only said there was not the word *more* money. I told him I remembered very well it was a pretty long letter and that he only read me the latter end, which was, if you won't give me money I can't serve you and that I made an inference from thence to your Lordship that it was plain he had a correspondence with Azzurini which he could not deny. I found he took it ill, I gave your Lordship this information but I don't much care, nor what report he makes to his Court about it, for I believe I have writ full as much to the Electress.

Here is one Plunket an Irish papist here, who pretends, like Azzurini, to have great correspondence in England, but I shall have him watched to see who he frequents.

I shall trouble your Lordship with nothing which is in my other despatches, only that Count Sinzendorf does all he can to spirit up the Dutch to continue the war, and some are fools enough to hearken to him, but in the main they are wise enough to see their own interest, and are now come to a resolution of coming into the Queen's measures, if I could promise them positively they should have Tournay, and indeed I wish I was positively empowered to do it, because it would be ending all at once, and stopping the mouths of your opposers both now and hereafter, since there is these three reasons, one is, that after a ten years successful war it is very hard they should obtain from France nothing but Ipres more than they had before. The next is that they really have nothing of a barrier without Tournay, which is contrary to the Queen's repeated assurances, that she would take care of the surety of all her allies, and then the Queen says in her speech they shall have all the towns mentioned in the preliminaries of 1709 except two or three places at most, whereas if the French keep Tournay, the Dutch would then want four places of that barrier, and if that scheme I sent you is followed they will not be aggrandized but secured, and that is really what England is to take care of. I believe under the apprehensions they now are, especially hearing of the cessation with Portugal, we might bring them to an immediate conclusion, and they would sign their peace at the same time with the Queen; it was to be wished we could have obtained them Condé as well as Tournay, for then there had not been the least fault in the barrier, the Queen had obtained for them. There are a great many reasons should make one wish one could make the Dutch sign their peace with the Queen, and I really believe it may be done, on condition I, or someone else are fully empowered, to assure them at the same time they shall keep a garrison in Tournai for your Lordship will easily believe they must be sure of their terms with the Queen before they can quit the Emperor. And to show your Lordship how far these people are brought they have come to a resolution which is approved by some of their provinces that they will entirely lay their interest into the Queen's hands, desiring her to obtain for them what she can, but less than what she mentioned in her speech they cannot with any surety accept, and would rather stand out the last extremity. In your Lordship's letter you say if you could once fix the Dutch, I now can, and Tournay is all that is material in dispute between the French and them, and I do really believe if the French were told plainly the Queen was obliged in honour to obtain Tournay for them, and that the peace stuck at nothing else, they would part with it, if they saw the Queen in earnest. Have they not all Spain, and the Indies, besides Maubuge, Valanciennes, Condé, Lisle and

Strasburg less than in the preliminaries, and what can the French say if they were told that they can only have peace on this foot, and that they must either give up to the Allies Tournay or Strasbourg; I am sure they would give up the former. When your Lordship can be sure of obtaining it for them pray let me know it, and if you please to acquaint some of your correspondents here with it that we may take our measures with the peaceable to hinder the intrigues of those who delight in war, and I foresee without getting Tournai for the Dutch a world of amberrass, since they can not bear of parting with it with patience, and would rather risk the war longer. The difficulty is how to reconcile the dispute between the French and them about the affair of Count Rechteren, else we might immediately renew our general conferences.

Count Sinzendorf seems mortified at wanting the answer he expects from your Lordship, and says as indeed is true that though he mentioned a partition in Spain and the Indies, yet he let us know at the same time the Emperor would not insist upon it no more than he would on the full barrier demanded for the Empire. In short the message I last carried him by order, and the cessations agreed to by the Portuguese makes him very uneasy. He seems to desire extremely a cessation for Catalonia, by which the Emperor would keep a footing in Spain, and so perhaps make an advantageous capitulation for some exchange before he quitted it, which might not perhaps so well agree with the Queen's scheme. But this can't escape your Lordship's penetration, no more than the great number of Germans should we transport them all out of hand into Italy which is extremely apprehended by the Italian Princes and especially the Duke of Savoy, whose minister desired me to advertise your Lordship what so great a body of Germans might not undertake in Italy.

Before I end, don't think me importunate my Lord, if I once more ask your Lordship whether you can't give me hopes of obtaining an exchange of my regiment of dragoons for that regiment of horse which was Lord Rivers's, and what is the allowance I am to have in the Admiralty."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Sept. 19. 3 days.

1712, <sup>October 4</sup><sub>September 23.</sub> Utrecht.—"Count Sinzendorf torments me every day to know whether I have not an answer from your Lordship, and told me yesterday, your Lordship had said you had sent your answer by me. I told him I knew no other yet, but that your Lordship—as every one must do—thinks the demands of the Emperor is very wide from what he can obtain from the French, his answer was, *Bon Dieu!* I have repeated so often, that we don't insist on those terms, but let the Queen say what terms she thinks fit the Emperor should insist on, and then she would see whether the Emperor and his ministers were so unreasonable or no. He added, that your Lordship



should have spoken as if you took it ill, that he had formed projects here for raising money for the Emperor, which he seemed to wonder at, since—as he says—it is natural for them to see where they can get money in case they are obliged to stand out longer than the rest, at least till they know what terms they can obtain. And for his projects with the Princees of the Empire and with the States General, he thinks it natural to get as many as possible to stand by the Emperor even though he was entirely agreed with the Queen what to accept of, till such time as they had obtained from France what was agreed on and the peace signed. I need not trouble your Lordship with all our arguments pro and con, and how I represented to him the great value and advantage the Catholie Low Countries might be to his Imperial Majesty, if he would, by times, enter into the consideration of it, and settle all matters with the Queen. He is so far come down in his demands, that with Sicily he would accept willingly of the Emperor's lot, but as it is now too late for that, I must wait your Lordship's directions when you would have me speak further and clearer to him. I hope the States will soon speak so to us, and I am credibly informed, that three of their provinces are already resolved to submit to the Queen, insisting on Tournay and Condé and so leaving the rest to her Majesty, and they hope in a day or two to get the consent of the fourth which being the majority, they will then propose it to us to communicate it to Her Majesty, which if they do our work will grow easy.

I am afraid by my brother's letters, his sollicitations on my account grows importunate to your Lordship, and nothing but family reasons, should make me so, since your Lordship has been so kind to give me so many repeated assurances of your friendship: and that the Queen was pleased to give me the employment of the Admiralty, not only to recompense my service, but to help to bear the expense, which indeed my Lord exceeds by allowance more than I ought to undertake, yet my Lord, as yet it only appears to the world that I am but one of the seven with the same power, and the same salary, which would help but little to support the extraordinary expense I am at here, since I actually pay more than four and twenty hundred pounds a year for house rent only, and my separate family at the Hague, and going backwards and forwards thither, stands me in at least 600*l.* a year more, which is 3,000*l.* a year without counting the great expense of my living and family. When I assure your Lordship that the Prussians have each of them for their table alone, above a hundred pounds a week, and I should be very sorry my table was not better than the best of theirs. Let me once more beg your Lordship to consider this, and to let me but know how you design to make the employment in the Admiralty so advantageous, and profitable to me, as you have been often pleased to repeat you intended it, that I might not any more trouble your Lordship

on my own account, unless it was with repeating thanks for your favour and friendship ; since no man can be more grateful and thankful."

*Postscript.*—"Though Count Sinzendorf takes no notice to me of Sicily but slightly yet he told his friend Count Maffai he was returned with a crown before him and a good barrier behind him."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Sept. 26. 3 days.

1712, <sup>October 5</sup><sub>September 24</sub>. Utrecht.—"The great eagerness the States ministers show to have us despatch this overture of theirs, only allows me time to observe, as the States are now come to what your Lordship has mentioned to me you would have them, which is to declare frankly and at once the utmost they can be contented to make peace upon. Your Lordship will have the goodness to let me know your sentiments which way I should behave myself since I must own I have given hopes to our friends who are for peace here, that this proceeding of theirs will have the effect of our acting with an entire confidence with them, as for Condé its situation on the Scheild does make it of consequence to them, but if we could not obtain it for them I believe that would not stop their proceeding to peace with us, but Tournay certainly would as I have amply informed your Lordship in my former letters. I am apt to believe by my discourse with the French that if the Queen would speak plainly to the French King as a thing she is obliged to insist on for the Dutch to be certain of peace, he would at once consent to it, but the place is of that importance that no doubt France would be glad of staving off the peace for some months to obtain it, if the least hopes of success was given them from the Queen.

Does not your Lordship think we should now break the matter of Sicily to them, since the report of it is pretty public and they must know it at last. This would only show the Queen's friendship to and her confidence in them, in return to their putting themselves and their interest into the Queen's hands. I shall wait with impatience to know your Lordship's sentiments on this matter, which I have been foretelling you for some posts past, having known the secret resolution, though it was not agreed to in form by the provinces till now, and last night you see by my letter they were not then sure of it."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Sept. 28.

1712, October 22. St. James's Square.—"Let me entreat your Lordship once more to finish the warrant for the additional 2000*l.* a year, you have now been pleased to accomplish all you have promised with which I am entirely satisfied and shall ever most gratefully acknowledge it and being sure it is your intention to finish this remaining part I hope you will put me entirely at ease and let it be done out of hand for I really believe

you desire as much as I can do that it should pass the privy seal before my return, and your Lordship knows the Queen's affairs will require that very speedily. I know multiplicity of other business puts this out of your mind and therefore I hope you will pardon me for taking this method to make you remember me."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Octo. 23.

#### The BISHOP OF BRISTOL to the LORD TREASURER.

1712, December 16. Utrecht.—I am not more heartily glad of the Earl of Strafford's return hither, where Her Majesty's service so much needs his presence, than sorry to observe his Lordship very uneasy, that the honour graciously conferred on him by Her Majesty in choosing his Lordship a Companion of the Order of the Garter, is attended with a circumstance of some disadvantage to him, in the present post he so worthily and usefully fills, and which requires at least, that his mind should be as much at ease as possible, in respect of any personal concern.

The disadvantage is, that the favour of wearing the Star on his upper garment before instalment, which has been allowed to some others in the same case he is in, has not been granted at his request. The reason of this difficulty I am told is, that granting this favour to the Earl of Strafford, all the other Knights now elect might also desire it, as was done at the election immediately preceding this last. Upon this in all humility I take leave to offer, that the statutes of the Order make a much more important difference than this, between a Knight Elect, that is in foreign parts, either in the wars or other commandment of the Sovereign, and one that is at home. For the former, by the statutes both of Henry the Fifth and Eighth, art. 20, may be installed by proxy; whereas a Knight Elect, that is at home, may not. Consequently a mark of distinction in a degree so much inferior, as is now in the case, can less be contested, or esteemed an unstatutable inequality.

For what was done at the last election the Sovereign had then certainly good reasons, which possibly may not now subsist, nor would it be proper to insist upon one single instance, to restrain the Sovereign from conferring on those that serve abroad peculiar marks of grace, such especially as are a means to do honour to the Order, as well as to the person in foreign parts. And it may therefore reasonably be supposed, that none of the other Knights Elect would be uneasy on that account; at least I have seen a letter from his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, which fully expresses his acquiescence in it.

It might also not be improper to take this occasion of settling a useful precedent in this case, by granting what is agreeable to the intention of the statutes, and declining what is not.



I dare hope, this will be your Lordship's opinion or at least that you will not take it amiss, that I presume to mention it as mine, and to entreat your Lordship to contribute to my Lord Strafford's satisfaction in this particular.

The BISHOP OF BRISTOL and EARL OF STRAFFORD to the  
LORD TREASURER.

1712, December  $\frac{27}{16}$ . Utrecht.—Joint recommendation of Mr. Ayerst, many years the earl's chaplain, as a person very worthy of encouragement on all accounts; praying his Lordship to propose him to her Majesty as very well qualified to fill one of the vacant prebends in the church of Canterbury.

Copy of the above. *Docketed*. Copy of my Lords Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries letter to the Lord High Treasurer, lest the original sent by the messenger Heywood should not have come to his Lordship's hands.

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to the EARL OF OXFORD.

1712, December  $\frac{30}{19}$ . Utrecht.—“Your Lordship's friendship and goodness has now put me out of a state of being a troublesome solicitor though it has put me under the immortal tie of gratitude to you.

I shall in a few words tell you a piece of news will be as agreeable to you as to your humble servant, after a great struggle the States of Holland did yesterday come to a resolution, of coming into the peace on the Queen's terms, but made all their members take a more solemn oath than ordinary not to say what was the resolution, for the plenipotentiaries are to insist on some points, as if they were the conditions of peace, but at the same time they have orders not to insist too much, not to risk the loss of the merit of signing the peace with the Queen. So as your Lordship sees, I know how they are to work, I shall know how to counter-work them. They have resolved to send a humble complaisant letter to the Queen which will come very apropos, before the opening of the Parliament, so I don't question but your Lordship will make good use of that letter.

It was with no little difficulty I obtained the knowledge of this, so soon and at the perjury of a good Dutch friend who engaged me to speak to none of it here, which is the occasion it was not in our joint letter and I have writ it to none in England but your Lordship, though I have taken likewise notice of it to Lord Bolingbroke alone.

I observe the French have a mind to finish, which I believe is best for all sides; my endeavours shan't be wanting to finish a work must be of such satisfaction to the Queen, such advantage to the nation, and such immortal glory to your Lordship, whose friendship and patronage I am proud of, and who shall always find me with true respect and fidelity.”

*Postscript.*—"I am just now informed the States letter is already writ and sent to Van Boursel by this post. Count Sinzendorf is just now returned, heart broken, from the Hague.

I suppose Van Bourselle will tell your Lordship that the States don't only concur with Her Majesty in all her measures passed but in all to come which is a very particular article.

The BISHOP OF BRISTOL to the LORD TREASURER.

1712-13, January  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>. Utrecht.—I lately troubled your Lordship with a letter upon my Lord Strafford's account in reference to the Star he desired to wear, which it seems is not granted, but I cannot apprehend a denial of what his Lordship now desires (though himself is not very easy till he be assured) that notwithstanding his absence he shall not be forgot at the next instalment. His case is within the Statutes of Henry V, art. 20 ; and there are many precedents to his purpose ; so that he cannot be passed by on that occasion without the greatest dishonour, nor can it possibly be supposed any such hardship will be put upon him, the reasons of his absence, and the important services he daily performs entitling him rather to the most favorable distinctions.

I take this occasion to wish your Lordship a happy New Year and put you in mind that I have now been above a twelvemonth on this side the water ; that one quarter's Ordinaries and Extraordinaries for the whole year are now due, and that I am as unable to continue without supplies, as I was to begin till you set me up. This I humbly hope your Lordship will consider, as I do also, that such consideration will not take up much time.

The EARL OF STRAFFORD to the LORD TREASURER.

1713, January  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>3</sup>. Utrecht.—"We are under great impatience here on all sides to hear the Queen's answer to the proposition of the States, as well the Imperialists as the French, Dutch and us. Lord Privy Seal and I have kept off the Dutch as long as we could, but now the French come very nigh their project of accommodation about Recteren to which I know the Dutch will consent ; we have with much ado kept them off till to-morrow, to tell them the ultimatum of the French on that matter, which when concluded they will immediately finish their affairs, since one of the French ministers told me in a very serious discourse that they found the Dutch and they had little or no difference as soon as they should come to discourse together, being though they insisted to have Condé demolished yet the French knew that would not delay the peace. That as for Strasbourg they know though they mentioned it to keep fair with the Emperor yet they would not insist on it, and as for the four species they were sure the Dutch would find out an expedient to comply with France. In short my Lord you will

pardon me for saying, I think the exception of the four species, is harder upon the British commerce than the Dutch since the French insist that we can expect no better terms than the Dutch, and that whatever they give us they must give the Dutch, and yet my Lord we must certainly fix some treaty of commerce with the French, or we shall find ourselves short after the peace. D'Abbee Polignac told me he knew the Emperor was coming into the terms of peace and if the Emperor should once take that resolution, those Papists would much sooner agree their work than we should be able to do it with them. I wish Lord Shrewsbury was at Paris for he being at the fountain's head can get over many things we can't here with ministers who pique themselves upon getting better terms even than those they are ordered from their court to obtain.

I have now before your Lordship two bills of extraordinary, and though the former exceeds the regulated allowance for some journies I made by special order yet your Lordship sees I ask nothing for the last journey I made into England, though it was by order, but being recompensed both by the Garter and the place in the Admiralty I take that expense upon myself and hope your Lordship will be pleased to dispatch out of hand those two bills of extraordinaries as likewise my last quarters ordinary, since this place sweeps away ready money faster than you can imagine, and though I have paid away very great sums since my return hither yet I am still considerably in debt to many troublesome people and all my dependence is on your Lordship.

I hear the instalment is now to be soon, I have taken care to have a proxy every way qualify according to the statutes of Henry the Fifth who settles how subjects shall be installed by proxy in their absence and hope your Lordship will see I am not neglected in that as in the dispensation for wearing the Star."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Jan. 8, morning. Six days.

1712-13, January. 1<sup>st</sup>. Hague.—"I wish your Lordship joy of having got rid of one of your most dangerous enemies, I knew his resentment to me would have ended with my retirement but could his vengeance have caught hold of you he would never have left prise, and I can assure your Lordship I have no personal pique against the man. Buys seems satisfied, is very full of himself and thinks he is the most capable man in Europe and yet he talks full as much like a coxcomb as ever he did and has such mistaken notions of our affairs I wonder where he picked them up.

Now give me leave to say one word for myself and at the same time I owe many favours to you and more than I can deserve, give me leave to desire one more, which is the Duke of Ormond's troop of guards if he quits them, and my regiment of dragoons would serve to recompense any one you should think fit, it being the first regiment in the English service. Pardon this



trouble and deny me my Lord more freely than you would do any other being, my obligations are so many to your Lordship already that they will make me most faithfully," &c.

*Postscript.*—"I have not mentioned this desire of mine to any one but Mr. St. John."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Jan. 8. 4 days.

1712-13, January 1<sup>st</sup>. Utrecht.—"I should not have troubled your Lordship to-night but for the enclosed which I received from the undertaker of the English magazines. Your Lordship will see what excuse he makes and what complaint for want of money so as it is necessary to proceed in this matter and take such care the troops should not want forage during this winter I should be glad to receive your Lordship's commands, and know what method you would have me pursue as also that you might be master of the affair to give your instructions to Mr. Bridges for there are people in the world who love to fix and make complaints.

The satisfaction I have of being joined with Lord Privy Seal is such that I promise myself all manner of success in this great and nice affair in hand, and our harmony I hope will bring matters to such a conclusion that the Queen will have the rest of her days crowned with peace and glory, as well as your Lordship's administration with honour and applause, for the nation, for them and their posterity will find the advantage of it. I shall act without reserve with Lord Privy Seal and don't question a suitable return from him."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Rd. Jan. 11. 3 days.

1713, January 2<sup>nd</sup>. Utrecht.—"If I don't trouble your Lordship oftener it is out of consideration that you know all we do constantly from our despatches; and that I know how busy a time this is with your Lordship. I believe however there being now so great an appearance of our drawing to a conclusion of the great affair, your Lordship will pardon me for taking up a few minutes of your time in acquainting you of informations of great consequence which is not in our relation.

Your Lordship is sensible how uneasy the Emperor has been ever since he has heard that the Elector of Bavaria is to be recompensed with the title of King, and to have from him the Kingdom of Sardainia. Count Sinzendorf has had two or three times with him a burgher of Huy, who he has despatched backwards and forwards with messages to the Elector of Bavaria, he first proposed giving him the kingdom of Naples for Bavaria; but being the Elector refused that, which would be excluding him and his race from being Electors of the Empire, and that being a kingdom too weak to support itself alone must either fall under the power of the King of France or the House of Austria. The next proposition was to see if there could be means found to content the Elector Palatin for the Upper Palatinat, and his

rank as first Elector, some attempts of that kind was made, but the Elector Palatin took it so ill that the Emperor was forced to let it fall. Then this burgher was sent to know if the Elector of Bavaria would be content with the countries of Luxemburg, Namur and Hanault, for all his other pretences which was likewise refused, so at extremity the Emperor is at last resolved to give him all the Spanish Low Countries, Luxemburg and all, and if the Elector objects, as formerly, that he can't lose the right of Elector to his family, the Emperor will promise to establish that as an Electorat it being in the circle of Bourgondy. This may, and I believe will, tempt the Elector to a change: the Elector Palatin already consents to the House of Austria, having the addition of Bavaria, Mayance and Treves the same, and it is thought to make their court, the Elector of Hanover won't oppose it, under pretence that the power of the House of Austria is to be no more apprehended, that when this Emperor dies without sons, Hungary will certainly be disunited from the rest of the hereditary countries, that it is necessary to have something in the Empire to support the Imperial dignity, and that besides, the House of Austria, there is not a Prince in the Empire great enough to support it, &c.

It is evident that it has been a long while the view of the Imperial Court to have Bavaria, and the States in Italy: but besides the interest of the Emperor, there is hardly a minister in his court, that has not some dismemberment of Bavaria, especially those who are most in favour and have the greatest influence with the Emperor, Count Sinzendorf has about six or seven thousand pound a year sterling, out of Bavaria, the Duke of Marlborough's principality is likewise a part of that, and I believe his grace is not very quiet at Aix about that, and getting the commanders of each foreign corps to give it under their hand that the two and a half per cent. was a free gift of theirs. The Dutch I believe would oppose it, for talking with the most sensible amongst them, they say, that though indeed the Elector would not be so powerful a Prince in himself, to support any dispute against them about their barrier, yet having France for his friend and ally, his power would be much more to be feared than the Emperor's. That at any time it would but be for France to make him pick a quarrel with them about jurisdiction, and under that pretence call in France to his assistance, who marching into the great towns would block up all their troops in the frontier towns, and so make themselves at once master of the Low Countries, and their troops. This consideration I believe will make us in England think fit to oppose such a proposition, since our case would be worse, for such a weak Prince must of necessity, between two such neighbours, make himself as it were tributary to one to preserve him from the other. Neither of which would be for our interest, since it might be as fatal to England to have the Spanish Low Countries entire under the Dutch as under the French.

Your Lordship will hardly believe me, since I could hardly believe it myself, though I had it from the person to whom it was proposed, that both Duvenvorden, that hero for war at the Hague, and Weldren, that pensioner of the Emperor, told this person, that told it me, that if the Elektor would quit his pretensions to Bavaria to the Emperor, and accept of the Low Countries in return, he would find his account in it, being, as he was known to the States, and had commanded their armies last war with King William, they being resolved to have no Stathaulder, but only a captain general, might give him that employment knowing him to be a Prince of that strict honour that whatever party he took, he would stick religiously to them. I am apt to believe the Elektor has so great an affection to the Low Countries having many amours and ties in that country, that, could they make out his being an Elektor of the Empire with those countries, he would quit all his other pretensions to accept of it, in which case the Emperor proposes to give Sardinia as a duchy to the Duke of Lorraine, as an equivalent for his pretences on the Monserrat. France I believe would be glad of this for the Elektor, though they would not wish the Emperor to have Bavaria, but I believe rather than not let the Elektor have all the Low Countries they would consent to the Emperor's having Bavaria ; so as soon as Count Sinzendorf and the French get together no doubt but they will underhand treat of this, and other matters. We can't help letting them meet at our house, upon the proposition made by Count Sinzendorf, and the answer of the French, and certainly they had better meet with us than alone which they could easily find means to do, I wish our own business with France was ended, and then we might act as we pleased, in relation to others.

The matter of commerce grows daily more troublesome, since Mr. Prior's mistake who I find has given the French a handle to go back from what we had brought them to, since they were agreed to allow us all the tariff of 1664 except the four species, which they would allow us on the same foot as they did the Dutch, and we in England should be only obliged to treat them as we treated other nations, but he has said in his convention that when England shall reduce all prohibitions and all impositions to the foot of what they were in England in 1664 then France shall allow us that tariff, and yet Mr. Prior must remember, that in his presence, Mr. More told us it was impossible for England to reduce her impositions to 1664, and upon that foot we worked with the French, and had brought them to reason when his unlucky proposition spoilt all, but we hope it is rectified by this time. The only remaining dispute is about the fishing in Newfoundland, which I hope is likewise settled by this time, since they have as good as consented to let us have all the fishing exclusive of them, except what they call the Pitit port which is the fishing of St. Maloes who have had it a long time.



The Dutch are impatient for an answer and I am desired to press for one for them, let it be what it will, for they say they have certainly made less preparations than they ought to have done. The spring is coming on and the French have not been idle and should they prevent them in campaign they might go further with them than we in England desire, which is an article in my poor opinion worth your Lordship's most serious consideration, with whom I leave it, for certainly when we can speak again clear to them, the Dutch will make what peace the Queen pleases.

The article of Guelder and the equivalent the King of Prussia asks for Orange is worth your Lordship's consideration, and how far that protestant Prince, the chiefest and most powerful Prince in the Empire, may be of use hereafter to the Queen and nation, besides the entire use of his ports in the Baltick. The Dutch have not one good reason to back their pretension to Guelder, but the 52nd or 53rd article of the treaty of Munster to which the crown of England was no party, besides they were obliged by that article to give an equivalent which they never did, nor never thought on, and thirty odd years are past since that time, they say it is convenient, and so perhaps it is, but that is not necessary for England to take care of, especially so great a convenience, aggrandizement and power, as they would get by that; they say it is very necessary for a communication to Mastrich, but how long have they supported that town without having that conveniency and communication, besides unless they would take away Genap a town belonging to the King of Prussia, in the duchy of Cleves they would not have the river clear to themselves, nor can they plead any thing in the grand alliance since this is by no means any security to them against France. But on the other side give this to the King of Prussia, you fix an eternal obligation on that Prince and his descendants. You have a Prince of the Empire, and an ally that has a passage into their country, and should we ever fall out with them, that alone would be able to keep them in some check, but closing them on that side, and making them entirely secure against all neighbours whatsoever may one day or other be fatal to us, and I am persuaded we can't help quarrels about commerce, for since I have been here, I can't get justice done in many subjects of complaints from our merchants. I told the Prussian ministers yesterday, before Lord Privy Seal that though my obligations was very great to the King their master, yet in supporting his pretensions, to this they had no great obligation since it was my opinion it was better for England that any Prince in Europe had that whole duchy of Guelder than the Dutch, and next to them, we should least wish the Emperor.

Your Lordship's friendship is such to me that I have nothing to add now on my own account, but to assure you, I am with a most perfect acknowledgment and true respect," &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Reed. Jan. 23. Ten days.

1713, January 29. Utrecht.—“ I may now most heartily wish you joy of being entire master of the conclusion of your most glorious work, and pray believe me my Lord, the part I have had in it, does not more please me than the prospect of honour, ease and reputation it will produce to your Lordship, to whom I may make a merit of not being so strictly tied to form of prayer as to have put off signing the treaty of Barrier till next post, and was forced to use all my power and persuasions to get Lord Privy Seal to let his family pray for him and me this morning, so that whilst he and Buys are transcribing and adding in their proper places those changes only which Lord Bolingbroke instructed us to have inserted, I have taken this time to send this congratulation to your Lordship, whom I own so much my patron, that I can't do enough to express my gratitude, and as long as I live shall seek no other.

I could not help laughing with some of my friends in the Republic this morning desiring to know which they thought knew this State best, the Duke of Marlborough or me? Being when I was soliciting the passports for the French, and he was at the Hague he told me the way to deal with this State was to be easy and not press them. I told him I believed, and would try the contrary, for after leaving him, I writ a pressing letter to the Pensionary, by which I gave them but six hours space to consider whether or no they would sign the passports. The short time given them cut off all debate, and they run to the only question whether they should break with the Queen or no, and so the passports were signed and sent that very day, and the next day they repented it, and wished it undone, and have often reproached me, for pressing them beyond my orders. The same method has succeeded now, for on Friday we told them those were Her Majesty's resolutions on the treaty of Barrier, that the States of Holland were still sitting and that Saturday—which was yesterday—was the last day of their sitting, so that we would retain the post till this morning, to know whether they would sign the treaty or no; which has had its effect, and they saying with changing the word *injuriousi* they could sign the treaty without stirring out of the chamber, I own I chose to put off prayers it being Sunday than to put off signing the treaty, and only advertising your Lordship that it would be signed by next post, and am sure it will have your Lordship's approbation and comes mighty pat to satisfy the whole nation and all Europe why the Parliament was further prorogued.

I can't help adding my apprehensions that as the French find all parties come into the peace they will have the less occasion for the English, and so grow stiffer and stiffer every day in the articles of commerce which the sooner it is determined the better, for the more they consider the consequence of the disproportion between their tariff and our book of rates, the more difficult they will grow, and I perceive they would be

glad to sign the peace before the treaty of commerce, Lord Shrewsbury's great precaution makes he does not write to us so as we may know what he is doing, there are two or three points we are not yet instructed on from home, without which as is said in our joint letter we can't proceed.

The Imperial ministers meet the French to-night, the Dutch make their submission to-morrow so all things will go on very fast.

The project of the Emperor's giving the Low Countries is confirmed to me by Count Sinzendorf's proposing it himself to l'Abbée Polignae at a private conversation they had together at a ball three days ago, in which Count Sinzendorf went so far as to offer into the bargain the Emperor's eldest niece in marriage with the Prince Electoral of Bavaria, in case that Elector would make the exchange and leave Bavaria to the Emperor and desist from his title of King. I have likewise found out that though Count Sinzendorf never made that proposition to us of leaving the Low Countries to the Elector of Bavaria for his Electorat, yet he made it some weeks ago to the Pensionary, who only answered him it was a thing to be considered of and not to be undertaken without consent of the English.

I have it in advice from one in great power, and in the secret of the court of France, that as they desire to conclude, we should say at once our ultimatum on the articles of peace and commerce, and having settled that ultimatum on precedent agreements, say positive this is what the Queen positively expects should be complied with, and this to be done in plain expressions without much reasoning to render the thing liable to different interpretations, and as I said before the longer the affair of commerce is undecided the worse for us, being one of the plenipotentiaries of France said to me, they would rather yield a town more though they should be blamed by the French nation than any thing in trade, being they should but be curst for the first once for all, but for the last every time the merchants felt the effects of it they and their posterity would be cursed.

I can't help, though my letter is long, adding that some weeks ago Lord Privy Seal and I took the liberty to recommend in a joint letter to your Lordship my chaplain Mr. Ayerst, as one very well deserving Her Majesty's favour, on account of the many years he has been abroad with me in my embassies, and the service he is now doing me and his country as my secretary at this place, he fears your Lordship's more important occupations may make you forget him when Her Majesty disposes of the church preferments now vacant, and has therefore entreated me to remind your Lordship of him, indeed my Lord, he is a very deserving man in all respects, and your Lordship who takes a pleasure to bring to light and distinguish hidden merit, cannot—I am bold to say—better do it, than in procuring him some mark of Her Majesty's favour, since if his merit is not so



much known in England, it is his being abroad that is the only cause of it, which he hopes your Lordship will not permit to be prejudicial to him, being it would be very hard, if while he is detained on this side the water in some measure on a public account, he should remain—as he has for a great while—unprovided for, while others who have never been abroad in Her Majesty's service run away with double and sometimes treble preferments. His character is however well known to many of the leading men in the church and particularly to the Archbishop of York, with whom as well as with Lord Privy Seal he used to correspond when at Berlin, in relation to a design which was once on foot there of introducing the liturgy of the Church of England. I shall take it as a particular favour if your Lordship will please to do what you can for him, and hope you will not repent having granted your patronage to one, who by his abilities may in time come to be of credit and service to your Lordship.

*Postscript.*—I hope when the instalment is, I shan't be forgot having sent my proxy and all things required by the statutes of the order.

Lord Privy Seal's chaplains are but just come abroad and are well provided for, whereas mine has nothing as yet, and I have no benefices of my own to give him."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* Reed. Jan. 29. by Mr. Harrison. Treaty of Barriere.

1713, <sup>February 4</sup>  
<sup>January 24.</sup> Utrecht.—"Our work as you see by our joint letter, begins to grow serious and general, and we are now so called upon by all the allies to help them to get their work done, that from morning till night we are in conferences with one or other of them, that really we have hardly time to eat our dinners. Yesterday at nine o'clock in the morning we had the Dutch with us who stayed till almost twelve, then Count Sinzendorf and his colleague came to us and stayed till three, before four we went to the French, and stayed till seven, thence to the Dutch, and stayed till nine, and thence to Count Sinzendorf where we stayed till almost eleven which being too late to write our despatches we put it off till this morning, especially hearing Mr. Harrison was not got from Helvoetsluis with the Barrier treaty. I reckon your Lordship up the conferences of yesterday to let you see the journeywork we are at, for most of the days before we had as many, and are like to continue them to the signing of the treaty, which I heartily wish was done, least the French should retract seeing the confusion the affairs of the Dutch will come to in a little time, who now declare themselves at Queen's mercy, and beg she will not leave them to the mercy of France. I now seeing them sincere—though drove to it by necessity—encourage them all I can that they may be the more convinced it had been their interest to have submitted sooner, and likewise by rendering them as satisfied as possible, keep

them from furnishing arms of opposition to the more obstinate warriors the whigs. I must own to your Lordship, I was vexed at the rough and positive way the French treated them in the last—but first—conference, they had with the Dutch, especially since they seemed positively to retract from the most positive assurances the Queen herself and we by her orders, had given the Dutch, to bring them in to sign the Barrier treaty, and to submit to follow her measures which happening but so few days after the signing of the new Barrier treaty, looked so much the worse. Their first position, that the exception of the four species of trade was a condition sent to the Queen on the French King's condescension at her prayer—as the Abbé Polignac termed it—to leave Tournay to the Dutch. We came off pretty well with that, for though we had not informed the Dutch that that was a condition beforehand, I told them, that what the French asserted of its being a positive condition I could say no more but that it was not given to me as such in my instructions, that I believed it was true, that at the same time the French King yielded Tournay he said he would not yield the four species, so by a hint given Marechal d'Huxelles who I sat by, he turned it that way, and refused to treat positively upon it, but we were much more put to it, when the French insisted so positively as they did that the Elector of Bavaria was to keep his garrisons in Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy and Newport till he was established in the State. The French King demanded for him, and had the assurance to assert that that was likewise a condition the Queen had accepted for their yielding up Tournay. I confess to your Lordship I thought that so derogatory to the Queen's honour, that I could not let it pass and flatly contradicted the French, telling them before the Dutch, what they had said was contrary to what the Queen had declared in her speech and what I had since assured the Dutch by her order, and *coute que coute*, they might depend upon it the Queen would not retract, nor suffer them to retract from one article she had given the Dutch hopes of, upon their coming into her measures. I opposed as firmly, their other position that they were to retain garrisons in Huy and the citadel of Liege and not the Dutch. In short, the French part not well satisfied with me that night, but the Dutch were extremely so, and though the manner of the French acting with them had extremely startled and animated them, yet the assurance I gave them seconded by Lord Privy Seal that the Queen would not abandon them but see all she had given them hopes of fulfilled, assured and pacified them, who came to us next morning to consult before they writ their letters, which we persuaded them to defer, till we had again spoke to the French and softened the matter, being, the Dutch said it would put all in a flame and combustion at the Hague, which I did not so much consider as the noise and work it would make in England at the opening of the Parliament, that after the Queen had

drawn the Dutch in to sign the treaty of Barrier, the French were to keep Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, Newport, Huy and the citadel of Liege till the Elector was restored which upon these conditions might never be, since the Emperor had no mind to it, and the French would certainly like these places better than the Elector's restoration. I had some discourse with Abbée Polignac that night after the conference at a supper we were invited to, I showed him how wrong their proceedings were and that they were much so in asserting before the Dutch that Prior was sent over to England with this as a positive proposition from the French court, which he never contradicted till his return, after mine, from England, when he showed them my instructions, which their King did not approve of, and he defended but faintly. I laid before him the consequences of this in our Parliament, which was just going to be opened, and that their friend Prior—if of consequence enough—upon their assertion might be called severely to account for it since Namur was not a place could ever be thought on to be kept back from the Dutch being really of more consequence than all the rest of their barrier. He was sensible of what I said, but persisted their orders were as they had said, but if we could find some way to secure something to the Elector he would try to mollify the Maresehall. I told him if they had had a mind only by this turn of negotiation to favour the Elector's interest, they might have let us into the secret, and we might have helped them, but that it touched us too nearly in their first conference with the Dutch to retract from the most essential things the Queen had promised the Dutch, and he might depend upon it, that way of proceeding would spoil all the negotiation, for positively the least thing that lessened the Queen's honour we would not suffer, and that in short, were they reasonable, we should as mediators assist them, but otherwise they must expect we should join with the Dutch, and I let drop as if they persisted, I should entirely change my behaviour, and talked of going to the Hague. I found by discourse with them they were not satisfied they were not previously concerted with before we signed the new treaty of Barrier, in which they are certainly for many reasons in the wrong, it being utterly unfit it should have been so. Though the Abbée had prepared the Maresehall yet we found him very obstinate yesterday in the afternoon. I was in a manner obliged to show him plainly how the war might be set on foot again with more vigour than ever, and that if they had no consideration to our affairs in England we must, and instead of opening our Parliament with a prospect of the conclusion of the peace, we would do it with new propositions for carrying on the war. He stuck a long time on the Elector's keeping the town of Namur and the Dutch the castle, but we rejected that, and told them we could hear of nothing but putting Namur immediately into the hands of the Dutch, and at last brought them to that proposition



of leaving Luxemburg to the Elector of Bavaria till his restoration, and his keeping the sovereignty as the Emperor is to have it—till such time as he is restored—in Namur, Charleroy and Newport with Dutch garrisons, Newport indeed the French themselves proposed might have an English garrison till the Emperor came into the peace, but the Elector to keep the sovereignty, though I think I remember when I was last in England I was told that Newport being so far distant from the other places the French desisted from the pretensions of the Elector's keeping the sovereignty of that, in which I hope by the next post I shall be set right. Since the French pretend to assert it positively that their Court never desisted from it, their politic way of negotiation might be better borne with did I not perceive that if peace is delayed what they now pretend to insist on only to procure some advantage to the Elector of Bavaria, they might in a little time insist really on for themselves, since the unaccountable conduct of the Dutch have brought their affairs to such a pass, that in a very little time the French will see they can't make head against them for all the auxiliaries will leave them. The Danes are most part of them in march to join their King, the Saxons have orders to follow; the Prussians declare they must be paid or else they can't stay, and so the rest that were on the Queen's pay, and what I foretold them they find too late, that when the Queen shut her purse strings, they must end: several battalions have plundered the markets and more disorders will daily happen. The French have still the spirit of chicane, and I doubt if things are not concluded will see these advantages and carry it too far. Your Lordship knows better than I the consequences should they retract and what a blame it would be to us, should the French break in too far upon the Dutch, which they may certainly do in the spring, and it may be out of our power to stop it. We have it still in our hands to finish, and I can assure your Lordship our diligence and zeal is not wanting. Prior has been much to blame and can't answer many steps he has made in this negotiation. Neither he nor the Duke of Shrewsbury acquaint us what they are doing at Paris, nor do we yet know it from England, and especially one syllable of what is done in Spain, nor are we instructed whether or no we should promote yet the coming of the Spanish Ambassador, which I now think should be determined. As for Count Sinzendorf's obstinacy for insisting on not signing the evacuation of Catalognia till the Catalans have their privileges granted them, I must own to your Lordship I did not much discourage, since I think the care of those people in full as much for the Queen's honour, as the Emperor's, and she having made them revolt, ought at least to leave them in as good a state as she found them. This has been an omission, and nothing but firmness will retrieve it. We must let both France and Spain know that the Queen thinks her honour too much concerned

in that point to desist from it, for really it will be a greater reflection on the Queen than on the Emperor.

Pardon my Lord this long letter, it is my zeal for the Queen's and your Lordship's service makes me write with this liberty. We are almost at the end of your glorious work, and nothing but a false step on our side can spoil it, therefore as plainly as I expose my sentiments to your Lordship pray as plainly tell me yours, and where you think me in the wrong. An ample communication of all that passes should be given us, least we err through ignorance for else we never shall, and especially him who you have tied by so many real marks of your affection and friendship to be with the utmost truth and acknowledgment," &c.

*Postscript.*—"I have letters from the Pensionary and assurances from many of his friends that he has been of late heartily for the States coming in to the Queen's measures and that he will always turn things in this country to the Queen's satisfaction and act sincerely in concert with Her Majesty's ministers which is what I am desired to let your Lordship know and I hope you will encourage it."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Jan. 31.

1718, <sup>February 10</sup>  
<sup>January 30.</sup> Utrecht.—Don Louis de Cuna tells me he is informed from very good hands, that the place Spain has allotted the assiento to refresh their negroes is in a country belonging to the King of Portugall his master, which has even been yielded to him by treaty with King Philip before the war begun and what as he says the Queen is by treaty obliged to see restored to the King his master. The country he speaks of is on the north side the River Plate almost over against Bona Aires. Your Lordship knows whether this be so or no, but I thought no time was to be lost in giving you this advice, since Don Louis has told it me so positively as a thing the Spaniards design to dupe us in and what we can't pretend to keep from Portugal.

—I must entreat your Lordship before I end, to send your orders to release some pictures of mine retained at the Custom House, they are but copies and to show they are my furniture, they are all in frames made after the same manner. I beg pardon for putting in this word relating to the particular affairs of," &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Feb. 3. Four days.

1713, February 22. Utrecht.—Though I am in doubt whether my letters are more troublesome, or acceptable, and wish the latter, though I fear the former, yet I take liberty once more to lay before your Lordship what I observe in agitation here, and which is not explained in our joint letter.

The Dutch though they have signed the new treaty of Barrier are vexed at bottom to see they could not carry matters their

own way, and those of the contrary party to peace, think they have no way left to wound what is done, but crying out that the barrier now allotted them is not sufficient, and that the expense of keeping the troops in the barrier will be too great a charge on the State. These people are now contriving a new plan, and resume a thought— I believe your Lordship has heard of—called their Barrier *en arraire*, which is, that the Emperor should yield them the Upper Province of Gelderland in propriety, and also Hastlem and Liere, to fortify, keeping to themselves all the land between that and their own country, as likewise to have an extension on the side of Flanders by Jas Van Gant, &c. By this means they will enlarge their territories, and around it mighty compactly, and all the money paid their troops will return and circulate in their own country. Hearing his highness of Marlborough and his friends were dabbling in some project, I was resolved to enquire into it, and found this his policy, for which is easily seen, being if it takes effect then they will cry out of us, that the Dutch barrier was so retrenched it was not worth their keeping nor besides had we left them wherewithal to maintain their garrisons, nor have communication. By this means Prince Eugene, who is to be governor of the Low Countries, will have it entire to himself, without having any constraint, he will then have it, one time or other, in his power to remember his friends in England, and to revenge himself on our commerce in those countries, and if by his, or the Emperor's neglect, the French should surprise and take away any of the strong towns on the frontiers, it would be said the fault was ours that carried matters so the Dutch could not keep their barrier.

Count Sinzendorf came to me yesterday and told me with a great many compliments he knew I had heard something of a project of an *arriere barriere* for the Dutch, that he had let fall a word the other day before the bishop about it, but did not think fit to proceed any further about it then. but to me he was resolved to open his heart in every thing, and to show he would deal sincere, and leave nothing in reserve to me, he would tell me of this project of the *arriere barriere*, and do nothing without my consent and advice. He could not but own it was what would be very agreeable to the Emperor to have that country to himself, as likewise it would be very advantageous to the English commerce in those countries, being then the Dutch having no troops and not being masters of the rivers our commerce would be free. That to obtain the sovereignty of Guelderland the Dutch would do much, being that was such an aggrandizement for them, and it would be a vast advantage to the State to get Hallem and Liere, with the country behind it, which would be an ample recompence for what they would lose in their extended barrier on the frontiers, and that country would then be at liberty, and grow rich, so that our commerce there must flourish extremely. I seemed not to disapprove his



project that I might the better know how it proceeds, he told me he must talk to me again of it, and in the meantime would send Count Maldigen to me to give me ample information, which Count is the first of the deputies from Brabant, he was with me yesterday, and talked over in large all Count Sinzendorf had said to me, adding he had found many at the Hague fond of the project, his chief argument was, the liberty of our commerce and the security of it, that their country would be rid of that vast expense of a million a year to entertain the Dutch troops, besides the apprehension of such masters, that the Dutch had Guelderland extremely at heart as what was a vast security to them on the side of Germany, &c.

Like as I had done to Count Sinzendorf, I did not discourage this gentleman in his project and took his memorial.

This project appears to me as pointed at your Lordship's administration, now or hereafter, for as I have taken notice above, what accidents might happen by the Emperor and his governor's neglect, would be laid at their door who contrived—as it would be pretended—to make the barrier not worth the Dutch acceptance. Then, though our trade would be out of danger from any force of the Dutch in those countries, yet if Prince Eugene should live long as he is designed governor of those countries it is to be imagined he would be glad to shew his acknowledgments to the Dutch and his revenge to the English. He would be sure to promote the interest of those to whom he now professes himself so much obliged, and an Italian in such a power would not fail of a stroke of vengeance one time or other, and I doubt an English merchant would be much less favoured under him, with a supreme power, than under a government, where the Dutch and he must be at continual daggers drawing as they certainly would be, had the Dutch the barrier stipulated in our new treaty.

I believe they would be less powerful with this extended barrier without Guelderland than with the other having it, though at the first sight upon the map it looks to be but little, for as the Emperor would have in the extended barrier all behind them, the money they would receive for their barrier would be spent there, they would be then under continual apprehensions of the French or the Emperor, and so be always obliged to take care to manage the friendship of England. Whereas if they had their *arriere* barrier, they would have a great acquisition, very compact, their money would circulate at home, they would be formidable to their neighbours, and only be obliged to assist the Emperor, and the Low Countries when others came in for their share, besides by their preserving their right of keeping the mouths of the rivers Scheldt and Swine closed, they would almost as much cramp our commerce in the German Low Countries as if they had their barrier there.

I lay this matter at large before your Lordship to have your sentiments upon it, being I can advance or destroy it as I please

now in the beginning, and it is a matter worth consideration, the greatest I shall have in every thing, shall be to your opinion, and sentiment, for I once more entreat your Lordship to believe, that I hold myself so gratefully obliged to you, that I shall most faithfully adhere to you and your interest.

I hope it will meet with your Lordship's approbation that I have got the States to write a letter to the Queen to thank her for her great friendship and care of them to profess themselves as desirous for peace as she can be, and to lay all the differences that are between the French and them before her, to declare what she thinks they are in the right to insist on according to her speech made upon the proposals of the French Court, &c. by which letter I hope your Lordship will have it in your power to declare to the Parliament that the Dutch are now come into the peace being the difference between them and the French is so very little that the Queen is the mistress to decide when she pleases. For I am certain that what she thinks fit to write to the Court of France for, they will agree to; except the four species of merchandise, which I doubt must be given up; Ballicule, Mortagne, and St. Amand, are not worth the life of one man, nor keeping off the peace one month longer, the difference of Huy is not worth mentioning one way or other, and that of Luxemburg being they are to have their troops in garrison is of no great consequence whether the Elector of Bavaria keeps the sovereignty of it or no, since the French offer he shall renounce his pretensions to all the rest of the Low Countries. I think we are happy when a peace is so very near, since the Emperor must submit to what terms will be allowed him and I once more heartily wish your Lordship joy of so near and happy a conclusion of your great work. And that the letter of the States should not be published but if and when you pleased, they have given me their letter to their Envoy to send to Lord Bolingbroke that he may order it to be delivered when he thinks the time proper. I hope this letter will come before the sitting of the Parliament, and I think it conceived in such terms it will entirely stop the mouths of the whigs, and justifies all is hitherto done towards the peace, which they certainly now eagerly desire before the opening of the campaign, which I hope your Lordship will help them to prevent for fear the event should be worse than would be convenient for us, for the Queen may either decide herself what she took to be the meaning of the French, or write to the French Court without loss of time to make them yield to the Dutch telling them that for the sake of peace they ought not to stand upon such bagatelles, since as for the four species I find the Dutch for the sake of peace would give it up, so that really the rest of the differences are not worth losing one month's time in the negotiation since it is only advantage of revenue, and not security is now struggled for between the French and Dutch. The only difficulty of consequence is the re-establishment of

the Elector of Bavaria, and that Elector keeping the duchy of Luxemburg till it is accomplished. It is certain the way the French propose will meet with insurmountable difficulties in the Empire, but I suppose Monsieur Stinckings has entertained your Lordship on a proposition I have made of restoring the Elector to all his countries and dignities immediately and giving the kingdom of Sardaine to the Elector Palatin, to satisfy him with a kingdom and a royal title, to compensate him for the loss of the Upper Palatinat and dignity of first Elector. If this proposition meets with your Lordship's approbation, I have great reason to hope the thing will find ingression here.

Before I end I must put your Lordship in mind of what I writ you of the French desiring to have their navigation free in the river of Amazons, which is certainly as much our interest to hinder as the Portuguese. Don Louis D'Acunha has assured me again this night, that he has great reason to believe the French have a great mind to get the navigation of that river, by which they might trade to Peru, and all the southern parts of America, but I hope and don't question but your Lordship will take care to hinder that project of French.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Feb. 14. Three days.

1713, February  $\frac{23}{4}$ . Utrecht.—The Marquis of Rocheguide has begged me to write to your Lordship to recommend him and I must do him the justice to say he has behaved himself very well and always with great respect to the Queen and her ministers more than any of the rest of the French refugees; he has only solicited what one would wish he could obtain which is to get released the poor protestants that are in the galleys. I remember when I was in England it was resolved Her Majesty should write to the King of France in their behalf which I wish was done which would be the thing in the world the most cried up as a noble charity becoming the Queen, and though it should not have its desired effect yet at least the world will see Her Majesty has done what she could. I know I need not say so much to your Lordship who is so much inclined of yourself to assist the distressed and to do everything for the sake of those who profess the same religion with your Lordship, but that the occasion of the bearer led me to it, as it gives me the opportunity of repeating how much I am," &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. March 11 from Mons. Rochegude Galicien.

1713, <sup>March</sup> February  $\frac{27}{4}$ . Utrecht.—I send Lord Bolingbroke a copy of a letter I have received from this new King of Prussia, by which your Lordship sees he is resolved to follow his father's steps so far as to leave his interest in the peace to the Queen and to desire her friendship in the affair of Guelderland, in which I hope he may be gratified, it being certainly better for the interest of England it should be in his hands than the



Dutch, and better for the protestant religion it should be in his hands than the Emperor's, but I have writ in a former letter so amply to Lord Bolingbroke on this subject, that I shan't trouble your Lordship with a repetition. The resolution he has taken of making up his army 50,000 men has made the Emperor, the Dutch, and others, think his friendship more worth striving for than his father's was, and I am informed Prince Eugene is writ to, to pass by Berlin in his way hither to try to win the King to the Emperor's particular interest. He always had a very particular esteem for the Queen, which I hope may be improved and his alliance may be of use both in the Empire and in the affairs of the North after our peace with France is made.

I hear your Lordship has set the Commissioners of the Customs against me by sending the letter I writ your Lordship about my pictures to them. I can hardly be sorry for it since now your Lordship will be obliged in honour to take my part, having been the occasion of my falling under their disgrace, wherefore if you are not so good to take my part I shall one time or another suffer for it. My Lord no man can be more really sensible of all your favours than I am which I shall always most gratefully acknowledge as long as there is life and motion in me."

1713, March  $\frac{1}{3}^4$ . Utreeht.—I must make up the disappointment I have by not having a son in the godmother and godfather I choose for my daughter and as I have taken the liberty to write to the Queen to be one I must beg your Lordship to have the goodness to be t'other. I should not have ventured to ask the favour of your Lordship to a girl but to accompany the godmother, being as I have on one side the princess to whom I am most beholden so I would have the man to whom next to her I have all the obligation : and no man so fit to accompany the queen in any ceremony as he who has so zealously, so boldly, and so successfully, supported her true interest and set her above the artifice of all her enemies. And as I have so very many especial marks of your friendship I flatter myself you won't refuse me to stand godfather to my daughter. Not to trouble you with another letter, give me leave most heartily and most sincerely to congratulate your Lordship upon the happy conclusion of your great and good work. I take particular part in all that happens to you and have very great reason to do so since I am resolved the only way I have to shew my gratitude to stand or fall by your interest.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. March 7. Four days.

1713, March  $\frac{2}{4}$ . Utreeht.—The Prussians having no ships and offering me the sale of their forts on the coast of Africa, I took this note from them thinking those forts being ready built on the African coasts might be of use to the South Sea

Company, ready money would always have gone a great way with that Court but more now than ever because of the covetous temper of the new King. I believe a little money would purchase those forts and they might be of great use in our assiento trade. I desire your Lordship would be pleased to send me an answer whether you would accept of it or no, because they would offer them to the Dutch in case you did not think of purchasing of them for our nation.

All things seem here very forward for a general peace which I believe may be as easily concluded as a separate one, but on that matter our joint letter contains enough without my troubling your Lordship any more on that matter, so that I shall only add my repeated assurances of being with the utmost gratitude and respect," &c. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. March 18. Four days. Wednesday morning.

*Enclosure.* Memorandum des ministres du Roy de Prusse touchant le transport de la compagnie d'Afrique.

1713, <sup>April 4</sup><sub>March 24.</sub> Utrecht.—As in a very few days I hope now to have signed a general peace, and being informed by my Lord Bolingbroke it is Her Majesty's intention to call me home as soon as that is done, pardon me if I trouble your Lordship beforehand to beg you to be so kind to order me the payments of my appointments due out of hand, that I may not be obliged after so famous a peace as this to run home in debt, for coming to cast up my accounts I find I have run much more out than I thought I had, and shall have occasion for every farthing due to me from Her Majesty, besides what I can take up of my own: and as my bill of extra extraordinaries for about 1300*l.* in journeys by special order requires a particular warrant which will take some time to pass, I humbly beg your Lordship to get it ordered and despatched out of hand.

I have so many proofs of your Lordship's friendship that I can't in the least doubt it in this, and own it will be a great addition of obligation to," &c.

*Postscript.*—"I return my most humble thanks for your Lordship accepting to be godfather to my daughter."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. March 27. Three days.

1713, <sup>April 11</sup><sub>March 31.</sub> Utrecht.—The best answer I can send your Lordship to the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 20th March is, wishing you joy of the signing this day the peace of all the allies but the Emperor's who has such terms offered him that no doubt but he will accept of it in a very little time. The disappointments your Lordship has lately lain under is I hope recompensed by the Dutch signing their peace the same day with us, and were it necessary I could show your Lordship that they have of late acted with wonderful diligence and

deference for the Queen. Their signing with us justifies so entirely our delay that I will say nothing to excuse it, but congratulate your Lordship once more upon it.

I must thank your Lordship for the honour you did me in standing godfather to my girl, I wish it had been a son that it might have been more answerable to the honour you have done me.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. April 3. With the Peace.

1713, April  $\frac{18}{7}$ . Utrecht.—The Empire, who during the war seemed to be a dead weight upon the allies, now they are left alone begin to talk big and of great matters they can do, they reckon upon 26,000 men the Emperor had in the Low Countries which they have ordered to march to the Rhine, where they pretend they always had about 30 or 32,000 men. They reckon out of Italy they can at least draw 26 or 28,000, at least 12,000 from Hungary, which makes about 98,000 men besides what they hope to have from the Elector of Hanover, who they expect will let them have all the troops they had in the service of the allies. Half the Danes at least, and all the Saxons, besides Palatines, and the Prussian contingent, the Hessians, and other troops of the Empire without reckoning a body of Muscovites they say are offered them. With these troops they say they can at least act defensively this campaign, during which time a thousand accidents may happen in their favour, and what is more certain is the Emperor runs no risk; for the neutrality of Italy, and the peace with the Dutch saves all he is to expect from being touched by the French, so that whatever they do on the Rhine can only fall upon the associated circles, without touching anything belonging to the Emperor unless Tribourg. So that if the Germans should have any advantage they win for the Emperor, and if they lose it is for themselves. It is certain there is neither money nor magazines for such an army, and yet I find it makes the French a little uneasy, and since Count Sinzendorf is gone they wish they had kept him here, though I don't doubt but the Princes of the circles will be wise enough to make the Emperor make peace in the limited time.

I am glad to hear that Mr. St. John arrived so soon with the several treaties, which I find was very agreeable, and I don't doubt but the Queen, Parliament, and nation, will gratefully acknowledge the great things you have done for them, and on that occasion give me leave once more heartily to congratulate your Lordship.

You will pardon me my Lord, for putting you in mind of my chaplain Mr. Ayerst, who serves me as secretary, and who is most deserving in both callings, there is now several prebendaries and other church preferments vacant, which he humbly hopes your Lordship will have the goodness to think of some of them for him, who has served me ever since I have been ambassador abroad, and deserves reward; his principles



and parts are such I am sure your Lordship will not repent patronizing of him.

Before I end I must put your Lordship in mind of ordering me some money being my function draws towards a conclusion and I should pay my debts before I leave this country, I therefore entreat your Lordship to be pleased to get a warrant for my bill of extraordinaries, which exceeds the regulation, especially since the journeys were by order, to advance the great work of peace, which has at last so well succeeded. Your Lordship knows better than any one what use they were in this negotiation, especially the last to the army, which you are witness how cheerfully I undertook in spite of all the difficulties, dangers and oppositions, I was to run through. I doubt not of your Lordship's friendship in this and all occasions and which I most entirely rely on. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Apr. 10. Three days.

1713, April <sup>23</sup>/<sub>12</sub>. Utreeht.—I must take the liberty to recommend to your Lordship's favour Mr. Columbin who was Lieutenant Colonel to Rook's regiment. Besides the particular acquaintance I had last war with the Major General his father, this gentleman who has been here all the time of the congress has behaved himself so as to deserve the favour of Her Majesty's ministers and I don't question but he will have your Lordship's as he has deserved it, and has desired extremely this letter to introduce him to you.

1713, April <sup>28</sup>/<sub>17</sub>. Utreeht.—As the King of Prussia thinks himself extremely obliged to the Queen for his acquisitions in Guelderland a very little caressing will entirely bind him to her interest; and he is certainly, after the Emperor, the most considerable prince in the Empire. Besides he will always be of great weight in the affairs of the North. Your Lordship knows he is a great lover of money and I am told you do design all the auxiliary troops shall be paid to the day they separated from the Queen's; and as for the Prussians that were in Italy, there is no doubt but they must be fully satisfied; so, if your Lordship had leisure enough to let the King know by me or any other what is designed for him beforehand, it would double his obligation to the Queen and cost her nothing more and I have reason to believe this king has as real a value for me as his father had and in whatever you think fit to trust me with relating to him I could turn it better than any one to her Majesty's service and your satisfaction. 'Tis only this king and the Duke of Savoy who really think themselves obliged to her in this negotiation, wherefore I hope care will be taken to continue to act in such a manner to these two princes that they may continue to think themselves obliged to her and so bind them to her that she may always surely depend on their friendship for one had as good not oblige at all as oblige but by halves. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Apr. 19.

1713, April 28th. Utrecht.—“ As the King of Prussia thinks himself extremely obliged to the Queen for his acquisitions in Guelderland, a very little caressing will entirely bind that Prince to Her Majesty’s interest, and he is certainly after the Emperor the most considerable Prince in the Empire, besides he will always be of great weight in the affairs of the north. Your Lordship knows he is a great lover of money, and I am told you do design all the auxiliary troops shall be paid to the day they separated from the Queen’s, and as for the Prussians that were in Italy there is no doubt but they must be fully satisfied, so if your Lordship had leisure enough to let the King know by me, or any other, what is designed for him beforehand, it would double his obligation to the Queen and cost Her Majesty nothing more, and I have reason to believe this King has as real a value for me as his father had, and in whatever your Lordship thinks fit to trust me with relating to him, I could turn it better than any one to Her Majesty’s service, and your satisfaction. It is only this King, and the Duke of Savoy, who really think themselves obliged to Her Majesty in this negotiation, wherefore I hope care will be taken to continue to act in such a manner to these two Princes that they may continue to think themselves obliged till the last to Her Majesty, and so bind them to her, that she may always surely depend on their friendship, for one had as good not oblige at all, as oblige but by halves, and after Her Majesty has done so very much to bind them to her, I don’t question but care will be taken to act so in the little that remains to content them; that they may be eternally tied to Her Majesty’s interest and know the obligation they owe you her minister. I wish the hearts of all were as truly and as gratefully bent for your Lordship’s interest as, &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. April 27. Two days.

1713, <sup>May 6</sup><sub>April 25</sub>. Hague.—’Tis at Monsieur Mareschalk’s, the Prussian Envoy’s request, that I trouble your Lordship. He has the King his masters orders to go over to Brittain to return Her Majesty thanks for the advantages she has procured him in his peace, to bring back the ensigns of the Order of the Garter, and at the same time to solicit arrears due to him; as likewise this gentleman has instructions to concert and settle with Her Majesty the plan and manner of the northern peace, and full powers to treat with your Lordship about the sale of the forts in Africa, which he assures me the Dutch company trading to the West Indies has made offers to purchase. I send your Lordship enclosed the account he gave me last night about them.

Your Lordship undoubtedly knows the character of this King, to be as covetous as his father was generous; he has writ to Monsieur Mareschalk (who has not so many friends about this King as the last) that he will only allow him for his whole

voyage 2000 German crowns, which is about 400*l.* sterling, unless he obtains a good sum for the arrears due to his troops, but leaving it to my disposition whether this minister's presence might not be necessary a little longer here. He has desired me for God's sake to write to your Lordship, and to desire you would have the goodness to answer me by next post, what hopes there is for the King his master's arrears, that he may judge whether he can safely take the voyage or no. He throws himself and his master's interest entirely into your Lordship's hands, and owns to me he had hopes of Lord Bolingbroke's friendship and acquaintance, which made him address himself to his Lordship, who gives him little or no hopes of any success for subsidies and arrears. He says he is now well informed that he applied himself wrong, since he ought entirely and alone to have done it in these matters to your Lordship, and desires me to assure your Lordship for the future, he shall apply himself to none but you, that he has made the King his master sensible that all his obligations must be alone owing to your Lordship, and he says his King has that good quality that he is always grateful, and never forgets favours done him with solemn protestations of the power your Lordship may ever have over that court if you oblige the King in these matters, which he is sensible lies in your Lordship's power easily to do.

He takes it for granted that the justice of the Queen and nation will oblige them to pay the King his master's troops to the day they separated from the Queen's, especially since to please the Queen after, he signed his treaty with France the day she did. He has heard of some design to favour the Danes, who had not one of those just excuses to separate from the Queen's troops as their's did, nor can have done since, anything like what the King of Prussia has done to expiate that act, and as for the King of Prussia's troops in Italy, they continued under the Queen's commands till the last, and acted as she pleased. They, he doubts not, will be paid according to their treaties and engagements with the Queen, for, though there was no formal treaty these last two or three years, yet it was jointly agreed between the Queen and States, that without renewing the former treaties every year, as my Lord Marlborough did to get a present at every renewal, yet by joint consent the first treaty was to stand good.

By this time the estimates are laid before the House, and your Lordship knows what will be paid, and what not, which is what I desire to learn from your Lordship, and will take care to manage it so that the King shall have the same obligation to you, as if you did it on his consideration. His pretensions are these, first for the 5,000 which was given at the beginning of the war between the Queen and the States, Her Majesty is to pay half of them by treaty. Next 7,000 men troops of augmentation which by a treaty made by the Duke of



Marlborough the Queen was to pay the whole. Then Her Majesty was to pay by treaty after the battle of Ramilies the bread agio and forage for 12,000 men that came from the Rhine and was as troops of contingent, and 8,000 by treaty the King of Prussia was to let the Emperor have. And lastly the 8,000 Prussians in Italy which was to have a subsidy of 300,000 crowns a year, of which the Queen was to pay two parts in three, and the Dutch the rest, besides an addition of 75,000 crowns a year for recruits.

Mr. Marechalk says the King will be liberal to get money, and will dispose of some part, to get the rest, that he shall have orders and full powers to make that disposition, which as it has been usual, so the secret shall be inviolably kept.

I shall say nothing on the present situation of affairs, informing Lord Bolingbroke so amply as I do ; I doubt I have been too tedious already about this matter, but it is certain, it lies in your Lordship's power, to rivet entirely the King of Prussia to the Queen's interest, and having done so much, a very little accomplishes the rest, to have the most powerful protestant Prince of the Empire entirely at the Queen's disposition, and besides without some encouragement, I doubt this Prince will send no minister over, neither to compliment the Queen on the peace, nor to bring back the ensigns of the order, both which really ought to be, and would look well at home, which is the chiefest reason I desire your Lordship's answer. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Apr. 27. Two days.

1713, <sup>April 29</sup><sub>May 10</sub>. Utrecht.—Mr. Ayerst my chaplain whom I have so often recommended to your Lordship's favour having some time served me as secretary, and desiring to carry over the ratifications that he might have that opportunity of humbly kissing your Lordship's hands and putting you in mind of him before all things are disposed of, I once more recommend him to your Lordship's protection assuring you again he will deserve it, or else he should not have been recommended by me.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 1. Two days. Ratification.

1713, May <sup>16</sup>/<sub>5</sub>. Utrecht.—Among the letters I have communicated to me of what the States receive from their ministers, this enclosed from their minister at Hambourg came to me this morning, by which your Lordship will see, that those places offered to you on the coast of Africa may be disposed of to the Dutch, and though they may not be worth very much to the English of themselves, yet it may be worth our while to keep them out of the hands of the Dutch though we bought them but to destroy them, which I leave entirely to your Lordship's consideration, and wait for an answer from your Lordship about them.

Though I believe this Parliament, there will be no regard had to the pretensions of subsidies to foreign troops, yet those

who served till the last, as the 8,000 Prussians in Italy, I suppose will be paid, in relation to whom Monsieur Mareschalk put this paper into my hands and as it refers to me, I desire one word from your Lordship about it.

All the pains I have been taking to bring the French and Imperialists to an agreement, both at the Hague and here, comes to this; and had Kirkner orders to conclude, and his commission not revoked, certainly the Emperor's peace might have been concluded out of hand, but this protocol—or minutes—of what passed yesterday between him and the French, will convince the world of the pains we have taken to reconcile them, and that nothing but the opinionateness of the Emperor and those about him, who are to gain by the war, are for the continuation of it. I believe for these reasons the French will soon publish this, and though we send one to Lord Bollingbroke, yet I thought it would not be disagreeable to your Lordship to have one at the same time. Monsieur Kirkner says his orders are such that he must go away to-morrow, but talks as if he thought he might return.

Still recommending myself to the honour of the continuation of your Lordship's friendship, I do assure you no man living is more than myself, &c.

*Postscript.*—If the Queen has a mind the King of Prussia should have his father's Garter, Monsieur Mareschalk assures me the King has a great mind to have it. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 8. Three days.

*Enclosures :—*

Papier touchant la Colonie du Roy de Prusse en Afrique.

Papier touchant les subsides des troupes du Roy de Prusse.

Points in difference between France and the Emperor.

1713, <sup>June 6</sup><sub>May 26</sub>. Utrecht.—I do not trouble your Lordship with every importunate sollicitation, but having seen the original orders of the King of Prussia to Monsieur Mareschalk, and receiving this letter from that minister, I thought, as there were some true reasons in it, it would not be improper to send it to your Lordship who I know is very sensible that the Queen and nation's honour should be strictly maintained in executing exactly their alliances where we have no just pretence to do otherwise; for though I hope, and believe, it will be a long time before we have occasion to make use of allies, yet if the case should happen, and they refuse us their assistance upon our inexecution of our former treaties, it might give too good a handle to some people who only wait to find what faults they can.

I assure your Lordship what I say is not out of partiality to the King of Prussia but a general reflection I have made, and out of the fullness of my heart for Her Majesty's honour and the reputation of your ministry.

The French are going, as the Germans are gone, so all hopes at present of a peace to be made here between them is vanished, and I am apt to think when they renew their negotiations it will be by the means of priests, and the Pope may be the mediator, by the means of Cardinal Polignac, who has a great mind to ingratiate himself at Rome. I have many reasons for this surmise and amongst others Count Passionie the Pope's minister here talks of going to see the German and French armies on the Rhine, in his way to Paris. He has long pretended to be the common friend of Prince Eugene and the Cardinal Polignac and having been at all this negotiation is very proper to carry on the remaining difference between the Emperor and France to a conclusion."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 30.

1713, <sup>June 9</sup><sub>May 29</sub>. Utrecht.—I can't forbear giving your Lordship an account of a short conversation I had to-day with Monsieur Bothmar, who was very earnest in recommending the Elector his master's interest, and complaining as if sufficient care had not been taken of it. I told him he might be sure the Queen's ministers would take particular care of the Elector's interest, but desired to know how we could do it, now that all the ministers of the Emperor were gone, which was taking the negotiation entirely out of the Queen's hands and I gave him very good reasons why I believed it would fall into the Pope's, they were such that I found it startled him, especially when I desired him to consider what reflection it would make in the world, that the Elector his master should be the instrument of taking the mediation out of the Queen's hands, to put it into the Pope's, he asked how he could help it, I told first by not having from the beginning opposed as he had done the Queen's measures for peace and encouraging the Emperor to war, and afterwards when they knew the Emperor was resolved to recall his ministers from hence, the Elector might have let the Emperor know he should not think himself obliged to assist him as promised if he broke up the conferences of Utrecht which was established by the Queen, he knew that Count Passionie the Pope's minister here managed a constant correspondence between Cardinal Polignac and Prince Eugene, and that he now talks of going to the Rhine to see the German and French armies, which is only to employ the Pope's mediation there. This has put poor Bothmar into a deep consideration and if managed may be a good banter upon his negotiation here.

I hope the Spaniards will soon make an end of their work here though the Dutch are very stiff to have a ship as we have to the Indies, and say we are engaged to have no advantage but what they are likewise to have but I showed the Marquis Monteleon the contrary.



The French though they have all things packed up yet have orders to stay some time longer so I hope some new propositions may come from Vienna before they go, that the Queen may have the satisfaction of making this peace general, and that nothing may be wanting to complete your ministry in this great matter for all manner of glory and happiness is faithfully wished you by me. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. June 3.

1713, <sup>July 1</sup><sub>June 20</sub>. Hague.—Monsieur Mareschalk the King of Prussia's minister is very urgent to know of me whether your Lordship has made any reflection on his proposition of selling to the Queen the forts the King his master has on the coast of Africa because the Dutch have made overtures to buy them. I know it is a very busy time with your Lordship but hope you can spare one word of answer by next post.

I have writ to know from Lord Bolingbroke whether the Queen would have Lord Privy Seal and I make any public rejoicing on the day Her Majesty has ordered the thanks given for peace to be and what the Queen will be pleased to allow us that we may order our expense accordingly, which I hope we may know from your Lordship by next post.

You will have that indulgence I persuade myself to pardon me for putting you once more in mind of the extra extraordinaries for my three voyages which your Lordship postponed in my last bill of extraordinaries."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. June 23. Four days.

1713, <sup>August 10</sup><sub>July 30</sub>. Hague.—Monsieur Pless has desired I would give him a letter to introduce him to your Lordship which though I knew there would be no occasion for it yet I could not refuse any thing he desired having so great and perfect an esteem for him. His character is too well known to your Lordship for me to pretend to touch upon it, nor the great affection and esteem the late Prince George had for him, what brings him to England I leave entire to him to inform your Lordship of, so I need say nothing more than laying hold on this opportunity to repeat my being with true respect, &c.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Aug. 7.

The BISHOP OF BRISTOL to the LORD TREASURER.

1713, <sup>September 5</sup><sub>August 25</sub>. Utrecht.—It is with the greatest concern that I find by a letter from Mr. Wich that he had not delivered to your Lordship one that I lately had the honour to write to you, wherein I expressed my desire of remaining in the Bishopric of Bristol. This unexpected omission has led me into a very great indecency; for being of opinion that perhaps your Lordship might not take me right, I have presumed to write to her Majesty in such a manner as nothing can excuse but the

necessity I thought myself in to be understood beyond all doubt. I humbly hope it may be so taken, to which I beg your Lordship to contribute, and to be also my intercessor with Her Majesty, that she will be graciously pleased to leave me in that station and never think of removing me to any other. It is most certainly not out of any discontent (for no such occasion has been given me) that I take this resolution; but out of a just sense of my inability to execute sufficiently any office of much business; for which I find myself grow daily more and more unqualified; and therefore it is my most humble prayer, that I may be permitted to spend the rest of my days in the Church of Bristol, where I may hope to be master of my business and to have at the same time sufficient opportunities to testify my zeal for our Constitution both in Church and State, and especially for the honour and service of Her Majesty, to whom may it please Almighty God to grant a long and a prosperous reign.

As to the Privy Seal, Her Majesty and your Lordship will remember, how much I thought myself unfit for that high office and for that reason it will, I humbly hope, be believed, that I am entirely content it is put into other hands; and shall be the more so, if, as it is a call from this post, it send me to that I so much long to return to.

I send herewith, by my chaplain Mr. Dibben, some thoughts upon our Treaty of Commerce with France, to be disposed of as your Lordship shall think fit, in full confidence your Lordship will not discover that it came from me.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Sept. 5.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD to the LORD TREASURER.

1713, September  $\frac{12}{1}$ . The Hague.—I am confident your Lordship is too well assured of the real grateful respect I have for you, to doubt of the part I take in the advantage that has accrued to your family by the marriage of my Lord your son. I do most sincerely rejoice with your Lordship upon it and heartily wish it may be followed with all your heart can desire.

A time will come when I may justify my proceedings to the world as well as to your Lordship, that as you have shown me many real marks of your real friendship, so I have never been failing in a grateful acknowledgment, nor never shall, and that my actions have not demerited the honour I have had of your favour, which is too precious to me ever to forfeit.

Your Lordship will not be deceived in placing an entire confidence in me and being assured that on all occasion you shall find me the most faithful, and the most grateful.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Sept. 7. Congrat.

1713, September  $\frac{20}{9}$ . Utrecht.—I have so many convincing proofs of your Lordship's friendship that I can't doubt the continuation of it as I am sure I have done nothing to forfeit it in the least, and I hope my actions in this negotiation has

been such as has your Lordship's approbation, and I am confident you will not suffer after all any mortification undeservedly to be put upon me. I hope I don't exceed the bounds of the most modest obedience to desire rather to be recalled than to be even mentioned in any new commission after the bishop, and hope your Lordship's time will permit you leisure to read this copy to Lord Bolingbroke. The reason why I addressed the original to him is because I know he has given hopes to Lord Bishop of London that there should be a new commission in which his Lordship should be first.

I was in hope at my last return from England that I was so well settled by your Lordship's friendship and favour that I need not have troubled you the rest of my life on my own account only now and then, to remind your Lordship that the grateful sense of your favours is deeply imprinted in the mind of, &c. *Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Sept. 13. Four days.

1713, September  $\frac{22}{11}$ . Utreeht.—The same post which brought me the honour of your Lordship's most obliging letter of the 2nd inst. O.S. brought me one from Mr. Secretary Bromley wherein he says, the Queen does not imagine giving away the place of Privy Seal from the Bishop of London can make any dispute for place, Lord Bishop of London standing still first in the commission. Good God! how can a man of Mr. Bromley's parts and clear understanding advance such a proposition. You will excuse the trouble I give your Lordship of a copy of my answer to him upon it. The night before I received his only upon supposition I writ a long letter to Lord Bolingbroke of which I sent a copy to Lord Treasurer, Lord Shrewsbury and Mr. Bromley, being I was resolved if possible to stop the affront of putting me second in a new commission, and if your time would permit you I wish you would take the trouble to read one of those long letters that at least I might be justified in your opinion. I believe your Lordship won't think now my retreat so far off as you seemed to do in your last letter and whatever compliment you have had goodness enough to make me, I believe you are now convinced I must see clear how little weight there is set upon my services past or to come. I trust so much upon your Lordship's friendship, that you will take care to set me right in the Queen's thoughts, which is all I care for, being indeed my Lord I am really grown so much a philosopher as even to please myself with the thoughts of living at home, being my own master, and having the liberty of criticising the actions of others, and having my own too insignificant and out of the way to be thought on, and I have so long foreseen this would come upon me, that I have persuaded Lady Strafford to like such a life better than a public one. I remember what Broehardo said to you alluding to one that prayed to a saint, and at last finding herself worse, desired the saint to leave her as she found her, which he took to be the ease



of the King his master, and I apprehend it is going to be mine. Her Majesty found me at the beginning of her reign with a regiment of dragoons which is all I expect to keep, for I sent your Lordship word that the last quarter of the 2000*l.* additional salary in the Admiralty is not paid me nor will Mr. Ceser do me the honour of answering two letters I writ him about it, and I am sure the place with only an equal salary to the other commissioners, I will not keep.

I am used to speak freely to your Lordship, so can't help saying as I have helped to set the ministry upon a foot they need not care who they oblige or disoblige; I am like to be the first example of that power, and what vexes me the most of all is, our enemies will laugh and say it is a just judgment upon me, and what I have deserved, else I am very well pleased I am like to leave this dull country, which is neither agreeable nor healthful, and that I shall soon have the honour of kissing your Lordship's hands and repeating with what true esteem and respect I am, &c.

1713, <sup>October 6</sup><sub>September 25</sub>. The Hague.—Were I sensible of one action of my life by which I could have demerited the honour of your Lordship's friendship, be assured I should not have ventured to apply myself to your Lordship to beg to know if any false, insinuating, lying villain, has any way traduced me to your Lordship, and whether I have the misfortune to be worse in your good opinion than I have been. I have complained to your friends as I must to your Lordship that of late I have not been honoured with one word from you, I know your multiplicity of business and am not extravagant to expect letter for letter from your Lordship, but hope I have merited the honour and satisfaction of one word from your Lordship to let me know how I stand with you; if well, be assured I shall be easy under all the neglects I have met with undeserved; if ill, tell me why, and I am confident I shall easily clear myself to your entire satisfaction, this I presume upon before hand. The design of putting the bishop unjustly before me was whilst your Lordship was in the country: you were the friend that gave me satisfaction during the ill usage of the late ministry, justified me then to the Queen, promoted me to this post I am now in, and under your favour and protection Her Majesty was pleased to distinguish me with titles and dignities, I am fully satisfied with, besides the employment in the Admiralty which I owe entirely to your Lordship, as I am sure I do not, the neglect and slights now put upon me, all I can brag on to show yet my gratitude to your Lordship is, that when you desired I would forbear giving my vote against the bill for the resumption of grants, though the thing then seemed to turn upon my single vote and I had so great a stake depending and had even the Queen's leave to vote as I would, I then told your Lordship if you would take it as a mark of my friendship and respect for you I would not

go to the House; which you was pleased to say you would and afterwards to assure me you took it for such a mark of friendship you would never forget it. I desire now your Lordship will show me that friendship you then promised me in reading over the copy of my letter to the bishop and justify me to the Queen for my earnest desire of being recalled. I have many reasons to desire it and all I hope for is that the Queen and your Lordship won't take it ill, it is a post though I am weary of it, many will be glad to have it, but my Lord seek the world round you will never find one more faithful nor more gratefully."

*Enclosure.* Copy of his letter to the Bishop of London.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Sept. 30.

1713, October  $\frac{14}{3}$ . Hague.—The great danger my Lady Rowston, my wife's grandmother, is in, makes me trouble your Lordship; being I have writ to desire the Queen's leave to take a turn into England, and beg your Lordship to second my desire, besides at the same time it will be the best expedient to settle matters between the bishop and me, being I still hope your Lordship has some consideration for us both. He certainly must have a new full power for all the world agrees he can no way act by the old one. Now if there was only mention made in the new separate full powers for him, that my private affairs calling me over, and that the signing the treaty could not be delayed till my return, it would appear to posterity why I was left out and his Lordship signed the treaty alone.

As for what other affairs the Queen has for me to do, the chief is, to try to promote the peace between the Emperor and France, that can't be done my Lord before I have writ to the court of Vienna and received an answer from thence, which can't be sooner than in a month after I write my letter, which if it is thought fit I should, I may be certainly back from England before such an answer can come. Pray what does your Lordship think if I should propose meeting the Count or any one with a full power from the Emperor at Nemequen, Cleves, or even Dusseldorf, where having entered so far as I have done formerly into the views and intentions of each party, I might have hopes of bringing them at least to agree to preliminary points before the Parliament meets. As the sequestration the King of Prussia has obtained of Pomerania changes the system of the northern affairs it would be absolutely necessary I should see and discourse your Lordship before we could well conclude those matters. And indeed my Lord, had I not a very urgent family reason to entreat your Lordship to obtain me leave to take immediately a turn over; the Queen's service at this juncture does require it, which I hope you will be convinced of, and that likewise you have not in the world one who is more faithfully nor with truer gratitude and respect.

1713, October  $\frac{25}{14}$ . The Hague.—The Queen's leave to come over, which I own was very agreeable, was not more so, I assure

your Lordship than the honour of your letter, and the expressions of your friendship, which I shall ever strive to merit the continuation of, and I should not deserve it, could I not justify myself to your Lordship, in what I have done, but I will reserve to do that more amply till I have the honour of kissing your hands which I hope now will be very soon. But these truths I must tell you to take off a little the ill-impression I find is on your mind, as if my uneasiness came only upon bare punctilio of precedency. No my Lord my first submission to be under the bishop in the circumstances he and I then was, and had been, might disculpate me from that imputation, for really my Lord my chief inquietude proceeded from not hearing one word from your Lordship since the signing our peace with France, some telling me you were angry at me for this, and some for that thing, that I did not really know what to think of it, and I hope your Lordship believes that I have that true value and consideration for you that if I found you were not satisfied with my conduct abroad I would not desire to continue one day longer. Add my Lord to the appearance of this dissatisfaction of your Lordship to me—in which I am rejoiced to find I was mistaken—that my Lord Bolingbroke was pleased to write to the bishop, that in ease upon his being bishop of London there was a new commission he would take care his Lordship though bishop of London should be first in it—pray my Lord would that have been doing me wrong or no—and all this time for three weeks together I did not hear one word from any of the Queen's ministers. The bishop had several letters all this time and several expedients proposed to satisfy him though to my prejudice, and had the bishopric of Bristol and dean of Windsor been disposed of to others as we were then assured they were, must not the Queen have changed the commission for us, since certainly the bishop must have signed London which would—with submission—have appeared preposterous to the world, if the Spaniards had been weak enough to have accepted and entered such a full power. Pray my Lord consider what a figure I should make here, with so apparent a wrong done me, destitute of all consideration—as it then seemed to me I was—of any minister at Court to take my part, and a Secretary of State who writ of matters under my negotiation here to other ministers without giving me the least communication of it. I not only run the risk of losing all credit on this side the water, but of being prejudiced in the Queen's opinion for want of an opportunity to justify myself, as likewise I then thought I wanted the same to your Lordship, nay even to all Her Majesty's ministers. I found none took notice of me, I found all things stated and reported to my prejudice and that it was really necessary I should have an opportunity to justify myself or else Her Majesty's interest would suffer by it. I knew my own uprightness, my own innocence, and that I had some merit by my service to her Majesty in the most trouble-



some and most ticklish time, and that I had deserved the continuation of your Lordship's friendship. Wherefore it was unnatural to expect so gracious a sovereign as the Queen, and so good a friend as your Lordship could neglect me without you had been both prejudiced by some base lie, which had I lost my whole fortune I could not be easy till I could get home to disabuse Her Majesty and your Lordship. This is my Lord the plain truth and nothing but the honour of the re-assurance of your friendship could authorise me to write it in the plain unaffected manner I do. I shall I assure you have a most just sense and gratitude for all your favours and if I am resolute and warm, it shall always be to serve my friends, and those who will be pleased to consider me as theirs, wherefore your Lordship may depend upon me as the most certain, as well as the most grateful.

*Postscript.*—My wife half unfurnished her house in the square when she came over which we must carry back and put up before we can live in our house, wherefore I must beg your Lordship would be pleased to send your warrant to meet us, not to let our goods be stopped at the Custom House.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. at Windsor, Oct. 17. Three days.

1714, February  $\frac{20}{9}$ . The Hague.—I can't enough acknowledge nor too soon return my most sincere thanks for all your expressions of friendship and your favours shown me, but I assure your Lordship you shall always find I have a grateful remembrance of them. I shall repeat nothing to your Lordship which is contained in my despatch to Mr. Secretary Bromley, and only observe in general that the Queen had been adored in the Spanish Netherlands, had more care been taken to manage those people who reproach us the rigour with which we exacted the forage from them for the Queen's troops and these foreigners in her pay. However a little kind and impartial usage will make them soon forget that, and bring them entirely to be devoted to the Queen.

The Pensionary seems extremely pleased with the assurance I gave him of the Queen's affection towards the States, and the liberty I made use of to assure him your Lordship had a true esteem and value for him, which I told him Mr. Harley would confirm to him when he came over, which I should be glad would be very soon for several reasons and wish your Lordship would hasten his departure.

Pray pardon me for giving you the trouble of these enclosed which I thought proper to send to your Lordship having made use of your name and can't but wonder who should be so base to insinuate to the Queen as if I had taken money for it. I protest to your Lordship I never thought or knew of any such thing, and next being justified to the Queen I desire to be so to your Lordship in every action of my life."

*Enclosure 1.*—Extract of a letter of Secretary Bromley mentioning that the Queen had heard a rumour that Strafford had received a sum of money for recommending one Mr. Buswell for a baronetcy.

*Enclosure 2.*—Strafford's answer indignantly denying the charge. *Copies.*

1714, <sup>March 6</sup><sub>February 23</sub>. Utrecht.—A piece of news I heard to-day makes me give your Lordship this trouble. I remember you told me that you knew for certain that the Imperial Court had once offered one of the Emperor's nieces to the Pretender. Count Taronea telling me what news he heard about the conferences of Radstat said he saw a letter to one here that used to have the very best news from Germany, which gave an account that Prince Eugene was certainly returned to Radstad and that the preliminaries would be soon signed there, that France had at last consented to desist from the affairs of Italy on condition that the Emperor would enter into a private treaty to assist France to restore the Pretender and to marry one of the Emperor's nieces to him which the Emperor had agreed to, and such a private treaty was made between them. Though this story is very preposterous, and deserves no credit, yet being it is so openly talked of here I could not fail mentioning it to you; since certainly he who writes it belongs to Count Shonborn, and has done it with a malicious design. I have taken no notice of it to any one but your Lordship.

What I write Mr. Secretary Bromley about this province having sunk the annuities for life from ten per cent to five, is certainly true and no doubt will be a great stroke to the credit of these countries. But this particular I did not mention to the Secretary, which is, that though they pay but five per cent. yet they give a note for the other five per cent. which they say shall be continued after the person's death for as many years, as he was in arrears during his life so that if he has it not, his executors will, or else he may sell it at a small discount, but these notes are to bear no interest which will make the discount very high.

I have no return to the letter I writ Count Sinzendorf by your order, and yet I am assured the letter was safe delivered him and several answers have been returned since. I suppose the Emperor is very angry, so the Count thought it the wisest not to answer at all. If the Queen has a resident is sufficient, and as much as the Emperor has with her, or any minister of a higher character passing by might try how matters stands, since I fear a minister sent on purpose would but meet with a cold reception, though perhaps it may be only that Count

Sinzendorf is forbid to meddle in any affairs of State till Prince Eugene's negotiation is determined one way or other.

Your Lordship was pleased to tell me you thought it very proper that Mr. Ayerst should be secretary of the Ambassy which is certainly what is wanted here, and he very well deserves it and as I know your Lordship loves to reward merit I need give you so much the less trouble in making excuses for the liberty taken.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Feb. 27.

1714, <sup>May 4</sup>/<sub>April 23</sub>. The Hague.—It was with a great deal of satisfaction, that I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the <sup>14</sup>/<sub>25</sub> past. Your Lordship need never make any excuse to me for not answering my letters though your handwriting can be none, since it is so much better than mine, and yet you see I venture to trouble you often. But you have a very just excuse which is the much and weighty business you have continually on your hands, so that as long as I am now and then assured my letters are acceptable to your Lordship and that you are pleased to continue me the honour of your friendship I shall be entirely satisfied and have not the presumption to expect you shall answer every letter I trouble you with. All I wish is that every one of your friends and those you have distinguished with your favour were as truly sensible of it, and as grateful for it as I am.

Your Lordship observes right, that I am not, nor was not, of the sentiment that a minister of Her Majesty's can make any tolerable figure at the Congress at Baden especially after the figure they have made at Utrecht, where Her Majesty was applied to on all sides, where she decided and determined as she pleased. She was the mediatrix and really the director of all things; but at Baden her ministers can only be solieitors, can only suffer reproaches, and most certainly can obtain nothing. And if I was of this sentiment before, what must I be now that the Empire have all submitted to give their full power to the Emperor alone, so that all other ministers who go to Baden can only be solicitors to the Imperial and French ministers, and perhaps be seldom or never admitted into any conferences by them. Will this be a figure my Lord for the Queen of Great Brittain's ministers to make. The only two points upon which the Queen can desire to interest herself, is in that for abolishing the 4th article of the treaty of Riswyke, and the settling the interest of the several Princes of Italy, espeecially securing what she has done for the King of Sicilie.

As to the first point, I must own to your Lordship, it were to be wished for the honour of the Queen's negotiation, that it was left open, and that there remained some room for the Queen, by exerting herself, to obtain that abolition so wished, for the advantage of the protestant religion and perhaps a



party may out of malice accuse the Queen's ministers for having neglected this. But my Lord what can be done at a congress so framed as this, and especially in relation to this point, which your Lordship may be assured is determined underhand between the Imperialists and French at Radstad, to baffle all endeavours of the protestants to obtain this abolition. Besides my Lord the Queen's efforts and intentions will appear by the instances I have been ordered, and have made here, and by my pressing the States to send a minister to act in concert with the Queen's at Baden, and their refusing to send one, will be a justification for the Queen's not doing it, and I am humbly of opinion it is better to lay hold on any excuse not to send, than to send and be sure to be baffled in what one sends about.

And as to the affairs of Italy, I don't believe the Emperor will suffer that to come into debate, he will say he has full powers to make the treaty of Radstad more solemn, but not to settle any thing else, then the congress is not to last above two months, by an article in the treaty of Rastad ; and whatever is proposed if not agreed by that time is not to stop the conclusion of the congress, nor is war to be recommenced upon any occasion or dispute whatsoever, so as what we desire to obtain in relation to Italy, can't but be disagreeable to the Emperor, he will be sure to amuse and not to grant any thing, for when once there are such preliminary articles as these I have mentioned, in the treaty of Rastad, there is no room left for any further free negotiation. But as I submit all to your Lordship's judgment and should there be some explication from France which I know not, that may make it necessary for the Queen to have somebody there, I could not recommend anybody for that affair fitter than Mr. Whitworth, he has been long abroad, he knows the constitution of the Empire as well as any one, and having been long at Vienna, can be the best able of any one to deal with the Imperial ministers. Or else if Lord Peterborow was in the way, as the gazettes says he is to come to Italie, he is as proper for that Ambassy as any one, for his Lordship's wit and dexterity will make him minded, when any other minister of the Queen's would be baffled.

Your Lordship asking my opinion I have done it at large and I hope you won't think it too large.

As for what has happened about that goose Baron Schut's demanding the Prince Electoral's writ, upon the letter I received from your Lordship, and having a letter of the Electress by me unanswered, as I have often for two or three weeks sometimes, not being able to keep touch with her correspondence, I told her I took the occasion of this messenger to answer her letter, and after having answered some points in her letter, I spent between three and four sheets of paper expostulating very freely on the irregularity of Monsieur Schut's proceedings, on the necessity it is for them to show immediately their disapprobation of what he has done, to fix on some real means to show the world

the respect they have for the Queen, and the confidence they have in Her Majesty, and the present ministry. I have told her plainly, that a King or a Queen, who would act by a party against the bulk of the nation, would at best lead but a very scurvy and uneasy life. I told her what I have mentioned in my letter of this day to Mr. Secretary Bromley, that nobody could inform her better than I of the form of keeping and delivering writs to peers beyond sea being I have had the practice of several Lord Chancellors, and several new Parliaments since I have been abroad.

I ventured to 'hedge' in one thing Mr. Harley and I was talking of, would be necessary to be hinted to them, just as he went to Hanover, and which I found he did not know how to do, which is, I let her know, there was a talk as if the whigs had a design to get the Prince Electoral over and set him up as immediate successor in prejudice to hers, and the Elector's right. In short my Lord I am satisfied I have said enough to her, if not too much even, to make her angry with me, but I am sure I have writ so home and plain it can't but have a good effect, and I have desired her to consult with the Elector about this letter. I have sent this letter to her by the messenger and enclosed it to Mr. Harley and have acquainted him with the contents of it.

I am glad your Lordship was pleased to let me hear from you for they had made odd stories of your Lordship being uneasy and having resolved to lay down, and being divided in sentiments with some of the Queen's other ministers your Lordship will easily believe what an effect these reports must have had on me, when I was not certain of the truth of them, as they regarded one whose friendship and favour I rely on, and to whom I am resolved in all states and circumstances to show my gratitude and pray my Lord be assured you shall find me a most faithful servant of yours.

I shan't touch on any thing I have mentioned to Mr. Secretary Bromley since I have been too ample and tedious already and only observe the uneasiness of these people about their barrier, which I could almost wish the Emperor would oblige them to treat about at Vienna, for it would save the Queen a great deal of trouble and blame, if she was forced to be a party in that matter.

I believe Bothmar would fain get these people into some engagement with the Elector his master, but hitherto I am satisfied, whatever particular people may have given him hopes of, the bulk of the Republic have taken no engagements with him. Their marine equipment I believe will come to nothing, and I am told the report from the Admiralty's of the several provinces will be made, that they are not able to equip out more than three or four men of war at most, so that your Lordship sees after these people have settled their barrier with the Emperor, they must come in roundly to the Queen's measures, for as they can't oppose, they must rely on her; and they will

own the King of Sicily, for else, what with their not making peace with Spain, and not owning him, they can have no manner of trade at all in the Mediterranean, nay all their Turkey trade will be likewise cut off. The King of Sicily's secretary gave me a letter the other day from the King his master desiring me to press this State to a recognition of him, but I have advised the secretary to be quiet a little till these people are a little out of their apprehensions of the Emperor and then they will begin themselves to solicit a convention with the King of Sicily, and he designs to follow my advice.

When I came out of England your Lordship was pleased to tell me you would pay my arrears of extra extraordinaries for voyages, &c. by order, in some tallies or others, and bid me lay it before Mr. Powis to lay it before your Lordship as I did, but your Lordship has not I doubt thought of it since. I once more recommend that to your Lordship's favour."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. April 27.

Copy of Oxford's letter to which the above is an answer.

1714, <sup>May 11</sup><sub>April 30</sub>. The Hague.—I should not have troubled your Lordship so soon again, but to inform you of two or three things I did not think proper to put into my letter to Mr. Secretary Bromley, being part of it is what I heard from the Pensionary and others in confidence, so I could not make a public letter of it.

The first, which the Pensionary told me to-day in confidence, was that their minister at Vienna had writ to the States to the same effect that Monsieur Heems had spoke to them, that the Emperor would not send to treat with them here, but if they would treat about their barrier they must either send to Vienna, or to Bruxelles, when his governor came thither, that the Emperor would not have the least regard to the treaty made between the Queen and them, and much less to what passed at the conferences at Utrecht, that he was able to guard the towns of barrier himself, and that if they would have troops, they should, on the foot they had them after the treaty of Ryswick, and for their commerce they must not pretend to have it on a better foot than the English had it, to which the Pensionary added, we were surprised by that expression, as if the Emperor had put your commerce there on a new foot, in short he said, for his part he believed this was all a grimace to make them come to easier terms in their barrier, and that the Emperor could never mean to treat them in this manner, that Baron Heems said he hoped they would not publish this, but the Pensionary told him a thing of this consequence must be reported to the States General, and then it could be no longer a secret, therefore he believed they should call Baron Heems to a conference upon what their minister had writ them from Vienna, and then deliberate what resolution the States would



take. What surprises me in this matter is, that they do not all this time seem to prepare the Queen for her aid, as stipulated in the treaty of Barriere, nor to ask her opinion, for what I write your Lordship is only told me by way of confidence to myself, and not for me to relate. I know some time ago they did not address themselves to us, because they were assured of a change amongst the ministry, and thought the whigs would have got uppermost, but since this affair of Baron Schuts I know the Pensionary has said that in spite of all, he now saw the ministry would get the upperhand. This I know from very good hands that a fortnight ago the Duke of Marlborough said, to a good friend of his, who went to see him at Antwerp, you will soon see such a turn of affairs in England will surprise everyone, and it is a thing the ministers are not aware of, which was certainly this coup of Schuts's which they thought would have taken another turn, and that the writ would have been refused the Duke of Cambridge, upon which a plot of outery was to have been, and that Princee pressed to have gone over, which I verily now believe he will not venture for several reasons, and knowing the opinion of his father and grandmother about him, I think I may venture to answer they will not let him go.

On one hand a reflection is to be made, whether we are not in a manner answerable for their barrier, and shall be fallen upon at home if they lose it, and on the other hand, what shall we do, if they dispute with the Emperor, how willing should we be to enter into their quarrel. If we do not meddle, we do not dip our fingers in their quarrel, and by treating separately with the Emperor, we might make better terms for our commerce, than treating jointly with them, but in that ease how long shall we keep the garrisons we have, and how shall we deliver them up?

I can assure your Lordship this State will send no minister to Baden, and they say they are satisfied that if the Queen and States should send ministers there, they would not be received, being the Emperor will neither hear of the abolition of the 4th article of Ryswick, nor much less of settling affairs in Italy, of which last sentiment the States likewise are.

Had I known Mr. Whitworth had been named before, I should not have taken so much pains to have recommended him to you as I did in my last letter, when I thought your Lordship pointed another way, but if he is not necessary at Baden he may be amongst the protestant Princes of the Empire, and Her Majesty may have occasion for such a minister amongst them.

These people still believe there is some underhand dealing between our Court and that of France, and accuse us for not acting candidly and openly enough with them, after they threw themselves at the Queen's feet to make what peace she would for them. They still have a mighty apprehension the Elector

of Bavaria is to have the Low Countries, and that the ministry in England are acquainted with it. Their affairs will drive them at last I am persuaded to call out on the Queen, but pray my Lord what is Her Majesty's intentions that I may know beforehand how to answer them.

I had a great mind to have sent your Lordship a copy of a letter I had from the Electress of the 18th last March, in which she says she abhors the name of whig and tory, and those that make use of her name to be of a party wrong her, since she is always resolved to retain the respect due to the Queen and to meddle with no party ; but I hope by the very first letters you will have from Hanover, you will find they have not changed sentiments. Therefore I would not add to the trouble of this long letter.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 4. Four days.

1714, May  $\frac{18}{7}$ . The Hague.—I should not have troubled your Lordship but only to have desired your sentiments on the present situation of affairs on this side, since I have so many and great obligations to you, that I would not take one step but what was conformable to your sentiments. Your Lordship will see by what I write to-day to Mr. Secretary Bromley, what I thought myself obliged to say to the States upon the orders I received about the barrier, and their running headlong to throw themselves at the Emperor's mercy, and perhaps had we kept as we ought our footing in Flanders, they would have had more regard to us than I find they have, and we have certainly removed our troops from thence at the very worst time we could have done it, of which I was not informed till it was in the gazettes. I could heartily have wished Mr. Harley would have hinted to me by the courier from Hanover what was the thoughts of that Court on what Monsieur Schuts has done, and whether they have the least thoughts or no of sending the Prince Electoral over, which would have been of mighty use to my conduct here. I thought I could not avoid saying something to the States on this occasion, about the protestant succession, which is one of the two points the treaty of barrier is composed on. I hope your Lordship will not think I have said too much or too little. It will be necessary for me to declare to your Lordship, that I would speak about that succession in the manner and style you would have me, for unless it is by the old Electress, I am not much beloved at that Court, and as I would boldly oppose them were they even upon the throne, should they undertake any thing against the good of my country, I would much more boldly oppose them should they offer to do it now.

The party pacific have now got a considerable advantage by having Monsieur Nortwig in—what they call here—the generality instead of Duvencort, who is extremely mortified and has entirely of late lost the interest he had ; the continua-

tion of the pension to the father-in-law Monsieur de Leire has extremely engaged Monsieur Nortwig to our interest, I could not deny him to recommend this small memorial for a pension, being he finds others of the like nature are obtained by those of the contrary party ; so though it seems but a bagatelle, yet your Lordship would extremely oblige him, did you please to order the payment of the pension and arrears, and let me know it, that I might tell him you did it on his consideration.

It is undoubtedly right to keep well with this Republic in general, but the surest way to do it, is to make them have some awe and apprehension of you, for affection, gratitude, and generosity, are utter strangers to this Republic, who must either conceive an interest, or form an apprehension, to be brought to do any thing one can desire of them.

Since Francee has seemed to forsake that regard they had, and ought to have, for us, and to make more their court to the Emperor and to strive to cajole these people, I find them extremely elated, and imagine we are grown insignificant in Europe, and being they see Francee treated in our Parliament still as an enemy and that no minister of State dare to name its name as a friend, these people turn their thoughts quite another way. It is easy bringing them back again, it is easy showing Francee their true interest is to keep entirely well with us, let what will happen and I believe I have given a good turn to that, by an opportunity I had, which will make Francee reflect seriously on that matter, and you may easily make appear there is a good understanding between the two courts, which ought to be upon politic reflection, and which I think, is very justifiable to any honest man that means well to his country, if I judge wrong set me right, for I know no man more capable than your Lordship.

We ought to make use of this matter of the barrier, and lay a plan down to proceed steadily upon, in regard to all the several interests we have to manage in Europe.

Your Lordship will never have neither at home, nor abroad, any man more faithfully your humble servant than I am, and who you may more securely trust.

The affairs of the north ought to be minded, for by that we may still make a very considerable figure in Europe.

I troubled your Lordship before I left England in favour of my sister's husband Mr. Donnelan, who deserves extremely well, and the Queen has been so good to promise to take care of him. My Lady Masham has of late been very kind and obliging to her, and there is now an opportunity in Ireland to provide for him by reason that Sir Charles Feilden, governor of the soldiers' hospital, is dying, the place can't be yet promised, so that one word from your Lordship would obtain it for Mr. Donnelan. I havn't much troubled your Lordship about my relations, wherefore I hope you will the easier excuse this.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 10. Three days.



1714, May <sup>22</sup>/<sub>11</sub>. The Hague.—Your Lordship will see by my relation to Mr. Secretary of this day to what tune we are like again to bring the States to and the ordering those troops back from Dunkirk to reinforce the places we have in Flanders will have a very good effect.

I don't think with submission we are authorised by the treaty of Barrier to hinder this State from departing from any part of it to reconcile themselves to the Emperor, for all the Queen is engaged to, is to use her best offices only to oblige the Emperor to come to some agreement to the satisfaction of the States, besides the less the Dutch have of the barrier the less they are to be apprehended by us, and certainly this Emperor has troops enough to guard the best part of the barrier, besides we are not answerable, nor can help, what bargain they think fit to make with the Emperor. Bruxelles for several reasons would be better for the Queen to treat at than here, especially in regard to the commerce of her subjects, and whatever ministers she has to treat with the Emperor's about affairs of the barrier, may easily find out means to reconcile matters between the two courts.

In a long discourse I had with Pensionary Heinsius finding him express some uneasiness as if the States were suspected by our ministry, he protested to me, whatever friends he might have in particular amongst the last, he had full as much respect for this ministry in general, as he had for them, or rather more for certain reasons, &c.

I told him it depended on him in great measure to set all things right between the two nations, and to keep them so, that he had one advantage with this ministry he could not have with the other, which was that whatever they should agree to undertake for the good of this State, the whigs having made such protestations durst not oppose it, whereas the Tories would always have reason to oppose whatever was proposed by a whig ministry in their favour, that he might assure all this Republic, that the Queen's intentions were sincere, and that she really desired the good of this Republic, and to fix so good an understanding between the two nations that it may endure to posterity. I bid him banish jealousies, and join heartily with the measures of the present ministers who are ready to concert everything with them for the good of Europe. I made the old gentleman some personal compliments and he protested very formally to me, that he would most sincerely support and join with the Queen, and the ministers she now employs, from which sentiment he would never swerve. I asked him if I might answer for him, he said I might, gave me his hand upon it, and went very well satisfied into the Assembly of the States assuring them,—as I was told by one of them—he was extremely satisfied with what I had said to him. It is time indeed they should think of joining more heartily than they have hitherto done with the Queen

and that a perfect confidence should be established ; I will do my utmost if it is with your Lordship's approbation, else I can let it easily fall, for whenever I enter with them into these reciprocal professions, I always keep up the distinction due to the Queen's dignity.

Mr. Harley who is now here will be soon with you ; after the little discourse I have had with him to-day on the affairs of Hanover, I concluded, that if they did not send the Prince Electoral over after the step they have made, they have done a very foolish thing, and if they should send him over, they would do a very mad one. I could not but send you the discourse I had with the Pensionary because in everything I desire the sentiment of your Lordship to one who is with the utmost truth, esteem and respect, &c.

1714, May <sup>25</sup>/<sub>14</sub>. The Hague.—Your Lordship having ordered me to write to the Electress upon what happened about the writ, I have but this minute received an answer from her, which is indeed very ample. 'Tis dated the 22nd inst. which is very fresh, and by it there seems no design of sending the Prince Electoral over, but she seems herself very willing to go over if invited, not else, but as she says she has expressed herself very fully to Mr. Harley, I need not repeat anything which he knows, and will inform you of. I must own to your Lordship I could know so little from him the true designs and intentions of that court that I was very glad to be set right by this letter of the Electress's.

The States your Lordship sees are brought again to have that regard for the Queen they ought to have ; it is a particular satisfaction to me when I succeed in any negotiation, which I hope still entitles me more and more to the honour of your Lordship's friendship, which is most extremely valued by me.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 17. Three days.

1714, <sup>June 8</sup>/<sub>May 28</sub>. The Hague.—I received (as I do all your Lordship's) with a great deal of satisfaction the honour of yours of the 19th past O.S. and was glad to find, what I had done was agreeable to you. Be assured my Lord, I am so sensible of my obligations to you, that I shall in every thing as long as I live strive to show my gratitude. What your Lordship is pleased to say against the Prince Electoral's coming over, is so strong there is certainly no answering it and I am persuaded the Court of Hanover is convinced of it themselves, though they know not well how to come off what they have done, and rather than pass in the world for having retracted from anything, they will entangle themselves more and more, by twenty absurdities, to get off, and not to disoblige the whigs, nor render them less hearty in their cause.

They had got it amongst some of the best of them here that your Lordship was at the bottom for the Prince Electoral's coming over, and that Lord Bolingbroke's being against it,

was the cause of a great misunderstanding between you. I have taken a good deal of pains to convince them of the contrary and that though I was sure your Lordship was sincerely for the protestant succession, yet you was against the Prince's intruding himself upon the Queen, which would be really the worst piece of service the House of Hanover could do themselves. Bothmar seems now to begin to think so, and he has been more free with me of late on these matters than he used to be, but I find he understands no more of affairs of England than a horse. The Pensionary assures me he is convinced, it is better that the Prince of Hanover should not now go over without the Queen herself invites him, and by all the discourse he seems sincere in that opinion and protested to me he was glad to find your Lordship was of the same.

There is no answering this, which is a question I ask them, if this ministry can be charged with one fact in favour of the Pretender or in prejudice of the Hanover succession? and what it is the Hanover family can desire more for its security? And it is a proof against their unreasonable apprehension, when they can only say the Pretender should be removed from Lorrain, since that is not in the Queen's power, who has certainly brought France to do more on that subject than their famous whig ministry, who treated it so slightly as they did in their preliminaries of 1709, when they had France at their feet and might have carried it as far as they pleased.

Monsieur Nortwig came to thank me for the favour I had obtained from your Lordship for a refugee recommended by him, and desired me to return your Lordship his hearty thanks for it, which I took the liberty to tell your Lordship would oblige more than things of much greater consequence. The payment of all the arrears to the Queen's poor French Pensionaries here, and continuation of their pensions, has gained your Lordship more praise, and prayers than any thing, to some of them it is really a charity well bestowed and does the Queen a great deal of honour.

Though Mr. Harley will give you a true account how matters stand here, yet give me leave to tell you, that Nortwig daily gains ground and power, as Duvendorden has entirely lost it, by Obdam's death the nobles of Holland only consist of five persons, viz. De Liere, Lord Albemarle, Staremborg, Nortwig and Duvendorden. The first is Nortwig's father-in-law, and Lord Albemarle having given his voice for Nortwig, to be in the States General, Duvendorden has so highly resented it, that their quarrel is irreconcilable, and Lord Albemarle more Nortwig's friend and his enemy, than is easily to be imagined; Staremborg though a Wassenar is nigher a kind to Nortwig than to Duvendorden, and entirely in his interest, so that Duvendorden seeing all things will be carried against him, absents himself and comes no more to the Assembly of the nobles, which only sets the others more against them. Some



of them found out from Duvenvorden's servants, that the courier that passed through here to Hanover brought a letter to Duvenvorden, which they seemed vexed at, and think your Lordship keeps up a correspondence with him, telling me that your Lordship will certainly not find your account in it, for, besides it being disagreeable to all his adversaries, you may depend upon it Duvenvorden will first or last play you a trick. I tell them I really believe the letter was not from your Lordship, or if it was it might be only an answer to some letter he had writ you about his law suit, for the interest of which he would even kiss the feet of your footmen could he hope to gain by it.

Lord Albemarle tells me that since he has been for Nortwig, Bothmar, Baron Heems and all that gang have estranged themselves from him, as if the Emperor was master of their domestic promotions ; he is certainly turned since this matter, and as they are but so very few, one amongst the nobles is now very considerable, they will be obliged to augment their number, which they think policy to talk of doing, but I believe they will delay doing it as long as they can.

I don't rightly understand what your Lordship means in your postscript about Prince Kurakin having carried on some dangerous affair with Bothmar with relation to the succession. If you will please to give me further light, I will enquire and do my best to inform your Lordship, what I can learn of it. Prince Kurakin is wonderfully easy and obliging to me, ever since he seeming once to menace, I told him that would not be the Czar's best way, for England was the only power in Europe had nothing to fear from him, and the Czar had all things to fear from us, since if he had 300,000 men instead of one, by our situation he could not hurt us ; whereas, it lay in our power whenever we pleased, to destroy entirely all his naval force at once, but it was the Queen's friendship, alliance, and good disposition she had to be well with the Czar, was the best thing they had to rely on. Your Lordship I believe remembers he got complaints to be made of me from the courts of Denmark and Poland, but it had that good effect, to convince him at last I should have no regard for their threats, and therefore he has never offered at them since. Your Lordship sees by my relations to the Secretary on what foot those matters stand, and how wrong I think it, that Mr. Secretary should pretend to keep me in the dark to the proceedings, and concert has been with the Court of France. I can't but say I should be much more serviceable to Her Majesty, were there not such reserves that not only choke but hinder my good intentions, some times I receive informations of instructions sent to other courts, but not till they are most commonly in the gazettes, as happened particularly about Whitworth, who I wish was despatched over, as likewise Lord Paget, which would have a very good effect both at home and abroad to quiet the minds of people ; and as for the first, it would be almost absurd to send him at

all, if he is not despatched immediately, since it must be kept up as a design for his being at the Congress at Baden. I wish every one that serves Her Majesty would turn their minds to the posts they are entrusted with ; or at least notice was taken of them when they did not. Exact exercise of the part is certainly for the good of the whole, and as your Lordship is at the head of the ministry, very often faults of others are laid at your door. I took the liberty to explain myself to Mr. Harley on this matter, not that I think it escapes your Lordship's reflection, but out of a real zeal and concern for your prosperity and ministry ; the first my personal respect makes me sincerely wish you, and the latter my own good or bad fortune is bound up in.

I can't help saying to your Lordship in friendship and confidence, that I wish the Duke of Ormonde would look more down into what the people under him are doing in military matters, where great irregularities are committed, which will be first or last trumped up, particularly one I have the utmost reason to complain of, which is, leaving the Scotch regiment one troop more than mine, which is the first, and which is a partiality never heard of before nor ever practised in any army. Pray my Lord say one word as from yourself to the Duke of Ormonde to rectify that matter, which may be easily done, as I have sent Mr. Guyn word, who poor man does not see the consequences of such partial, unjust, proceedings, and I must here inform your Lordship of one thing that I know to be true, that money is taken in that office to do partialities. I beg your Lordship not to let it be known it comes from me, because then to be sure I and my regiment will be the sacrifice of their resentment, but that notice may be taken, your Lordship may say you have been informed that every subaltern officer has been obliged to pay towards a sum of money for gratification to those who have pretended to obtain their servants, which had been taken from them.

There are people enough listening to find faults, and that of taking bribes, is I think the worst a ministry can be charged with, for if that takes place, there's an end of justice and equitable administration. I know your Lordship's sentiments on this matter or durst not write to you so freely upon it, and once more beg you not to mention you had this information from me.

Your Lordship will please to remember I spoke to you about some jewels of the crown which are deposited here, I likewise spoke to the Queen about them after I had spoke to your Lordship. It appears to me that Lord Marlborough seeing Lord Godolphin out and himself a going, let fall that matter as if the Queen was not to have them but by their means, or afterwards, to complain of our negligence. Hearing of this at my last return from England, I inquired about it, and sent for the proper lawyers who were employed, and having had an account, I spoke both to, the Pensionary and Mr. Dalwig the Landgrave

of Hesse Cassels minister here about it, which last—the first excusing himself from having anything to do in it—desired I would not proceed any further till he had writ to his court about it, and hoped means would be found to accommodate this matter amiable without the expense of law. But at last I find there will be hardly any doing of it that way, until they see at least the Queen resolved to push her right by law. I here enclose your Lordship a state of the case, which after your Lordship has been pleased to have considered, you will send me your orders about it, and how I should proceed. I believe these diamonds would be so much the more agreeable to Her Majesty as they were great part the Queen her sister's.

I think it will be a handsome and honourable conclusion for the Queen that the peace of Spain and Holland should be made at Utrecht and that I should appear there again as mediator, which is the reason I pique the Spaniards to do it there, which I find they give in to. If you think me wrong in it one word from your Lordship shall set me right in that or any thing else, for no man on earth has a truer respect for you, nor is with more esteem and gratitude, &c.

*Postscript.*—Poor Mr. Dalone, who was the private secretary to King William and a very honest man, is the only one here not yet paid his pension."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. May 31. Three days.

1714, June <sup>26</sup>/<sub>15</sub>. Utrecht.—Your Lordship will see how little these people are to be relied on and how soon they would turn tail if they found occasion; I know this fellow Van der Dussen has said that the divisions of our ministers would make them fall and then this State would be again uppermost and Spain would have much more occasion of them than the English.

The peace between Spain and the States being signed, and that of Portugal removed from hence to Badajoz, and the States seeming inclined to treat of their barrier alone must open a new scene and I should be glad to know your Lordship's sentiments on these matters.

By the great desire Bothmar has to see me before he goes and by discourse I have already had with him I believe he would enter into any measures or behaviour could be proposed to render him agreeable. I shall give him the best advice I can, if I see him before he goes."

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. June 18. Three days.

1714, <sup>July 6</sup>/<sub>June 25</sub>. The Hague.—Your Lordship sees clearly by my letter to Mr. Secretary Bromley how matters stands here in relation to the barrier and I should be glad you would spare a quarter of an hour for me to know your sentiments upon them. You see now they will court the Emperor for their profit, since they don't point at their security as they do at their interest and aggrandizement, they in a manner lay



down their thoughts of a barrier against France, and take it up on the side of Germany along the Maze. The million they stick to, and all the revenues of the conquered countries, which the Emperor will not grant, and will be glad after all of our assistance against the Dutch, which they have given us but too much reason to insinuate to the Imperial Court we will give them, since now it is not for the surety of a neighbour which might be called our own, but for the aggrandizement of a neighbour which may turn to our prejudice. Hofman has writ over that he can't see your Lordship to execute some orders he has from the Emperor, but that you put him off from time to time. It would not be amiss your Lordship let me know his proposition and your answer.

It is certain the States fear not England alone, think themselves sure of France so all their attention is to please the Emperor. The peaceable party say they have got the upper hand again and will join with our ministry, but I doubt they are but the dupes of the other party—though Duvendorden is quite lost—who are too subtle for them and industrious to follow their schemes. Young Molinex is come back from Hanover to Antwerp and is now going straight over to England by Ostende. Mr. Harley knows his character.

*Postscript.*—My Lord Burlington has taken a turn to Antwerp which caused a report that I was gone thither to visit the Duke of Marlborough which I never will.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. June 28. Three days.

1714, <sup>August 7</sup><sub>July 27</sub>. The Hague.—If at the instance of a poor honest messenger I solicit your Lordship I hope you will have the goodness to pardon this trouble. His fault is a misapplied gratitude for having been recommended by me to the Duke of Shrewsbury he thought he could not refuse Lady Strafford any thing, and she thought there was no harm in sending over a piece of silk to be made up in England into a manto and sent her back again to wear here. He was seized with it and suspended by my Lord Chamberlain, who has that nicety not to take off his suspension because complained of by your Lordship, till such time you ask him to do it, which I hope you will have the goodness to do, this being his only crime and besides his promising I dare answer he will never be guilty of the same again.

*Endorsed by Oxford.* R. Aug. 3.

## AN INSTRUMENT OF PROTEST.

1699, July 7.—By this public Instrument of Protest Be it known and manifested unto all people whom it doth or may concern that on 7 July, 1699, 11 William III., before Mr. Valentine sole notary and tabellion public for his Majesty's province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England appeared William Kidd, mariner, late commander of the *Adventure* galley, burthen about 290 tons, mounted with 30 guns and navigated with 170 men, who manifested and declared that on 23 April, 1696, he sailed from Plymouth in England for the East Indies and sometime in May following met with a small French vessel with some salt and fishing tackle on board bound for Newfoundland which he took and made prize of and carried her into New York about 4 July following where she was condemned as prize, the proceed whereof purchased provision for the said galley for her said intended voyage: that about 6 September following he sailed for the Madeiras and thence to Bonavista, where he took in some salt and stayed three or four days, and thence to St. Iago where he took in water and stayed eight or nine days and then sailed to Cape of Good Hope, and in latitude 32 on 12 December following met with four English men of war, whereof Captain Warren was commodore, then parted from him and went to Fellier a port in the Island of Madagascar: about 29 January following came in a sloop laden with rum, sugar, powder, and shot, Mr. Hallonde, John Butt, merchants, and one French master: about the latter end of February after, he sailed for the island of Johanna, the sloop keeping company, and arrived about 18 March, where he [found] four East India merchantmen outward bound and they watered there altogether and stayed about four days and about 22 March sailed for Mehila an Island ten leagues from Johanna where he arrived the same day and careened the galley, and about fifty of his men died there in a week's time. On 25 April, 1697, he set sail for India and came upon the coast of Malabar in the beginning of September and went into Carrwarr upon that coast about the middle of the month and watered there; the gentlemen of the English factory gave the appellant an account that the Portuguese were fitting out two men of war to take him and advised him to set out to sea and take care of himself. He set sail thereupon about 22 September and next morning about break of day saw the two men of war standing after him, one whereof fired six great guns at the galley some whereof went through her and wounded four of his men, and thereupon he fired on him again. The fight continued very sharp all day and he had seven men wounded, the other man of war could not come up being becalmed. At length the Portuguese left the galley upon the said coast cruising off Cape Cameroon for pirates that frequent that coast till the beginning of November, 1697, when he fell in with Captain How in the *Loyall Captain*, an English ship belonging to Madeiras, bound to Suratt, whom he

examined and finding his pass good let him go but having the Dutchemen on board they told his men that they had divers Greeks and Armenians on board who had many precious stones and rich goods, which caused some to be very mutinous insomuch that they got up their arms and swore they would take the ship and two thirds of his men voted for the same. He told them the small arms belonged to the galley and that he was not come to take any Englishmen or lawful traders and if they attempted any such they should never come on board again neither should they have the boat or small arms for he had no commission to take any but the King's enemies and pirates and that he would attack them with the galley and drive them into Bombay, and with all the arguments and menaces he could use hardly restrained them from their unlawful design but at length prevailed and with much ado got him clear which he doubts not Captain How (if living) will attest. About 18 or 19 November he met with a Moors' ship of about 200 tons coming from Suratt bound to the Malabar coast laden with some horses and sugar and cotton to trade there, having about forty Moors on board with a Dutch pilot, boatswain, and gunner, which he hailed and commanded the captain on board; with him came eight or nine Moors and the said Dutchmen declared she was a Moor's ship: whereupon he demanded his pass from Suratt, which he shewed, and the same was a French pass, which he believes was by a mistake; and he swore sacrament she was a prize and stayed on board the galley and would not return to the Moors' ship again but went in the galley to the foot of St. Maries. Upon 1 February following, upon the same coast, being under French colours with an intent to decoy, he met with a Bengal merchantman belonging to Suratt of 400 or 500 tons burden and 10 guns, which he commanded on board, and a Frenchman pilot, inhabitant of Suratt came on board as master and when he was come on board the appellant hoisted English colours, whereupon the master was surprised and said you are all English, and perceiving him to be captain said to him "Here is good prize" and delivered him a French pass with the prize. Then the appellant sailed for the port of St. Maryes in Madagasear and sailing thither the galley was so leaky that he feared she would have sunk requiring eight men every two 'glasres' to keep her free and was forced to woad her round with cables to keep her together, and with much ado carried her into the port of St. Maryes about 1 April, 1698. About the 6th of May following, the lesser prize was hauled into the careening island where (the other not being arrived) [she] was ransacked and sunk by some of his men who turned mutinous and threatened him and the men that would not join with them. When he arrived in the said port, there was a pirate ship called the *Moca* frigate at anchor, Robert Cullever, commander, who with his men left the same at his coming in and ran into the woods. Kidd proposed to his men to take the same but the



mutinous crew told him they would rather fire two guns into him than one into the other and thereupon ninety-seven of his men deserted and went into the *Moca* frigate and sent into the woods for Captain Cullever and his men, and all the time she stayed in port—four or five days, the deserters, often in great numbers, came on board the galley and *Adventure* prize and carried away what they pleased, designing to murder him by night, but were prevented by his securing himself armed and barricaded in his cabin, and they broke open his chest taking thence 10 oz. of gold, 40 lb. of plate, 370 pieces of eight, his journal and many other papers. About 15 June the *Moca* frigate went a pirating, leaving him with only thirteen men and for want of hands to pump the *Adventure* galley she sank in the harbour and he with the thirteen men went on board the *Adventure* prize. About the beginning of April he arrived at Anguilla in the West Indies and sent his boat on shore where his men had the news of his and their being proclaimed pirates which put them into such consternation that they sought all opportunities to run the ship ashore lest he should carry her into some English port. From Anguilla he came to St. Thomas where he heard the same news and more of his men deserted and his brother Samuel Bradley was put on shore sick. From St. Thomas he went to Mona where he met with a sloop called the *St. Anthony* bound from Corasoe to Antigua, Mr. William Bolton, merchant, and Samuel Wood, master. Then his men swore they would bring the ship no further; nor would they be persuaded to go for England but six of them carried their chests and effects on board two Dutch sloops bound for Corasoe. The remainder of the men being unable to sail the *Adventure* prize, he left her in safe harbour in some port of Hispaniola in possession of Mr. Henry Bolton, merchant, and three of his old men and fifteen or sixteen that belonged to the *St. Anthony* and a brigantine belonging to one Burt of Corasoe, which said sloop the appellant bought of the said Bolton on account of his owners. After giving directions to Bolton to be careful of the ship and lading he prevailed with him to stay for three months at which time he promised to return. He was then going to surrender himself to the Earl of Bellamont at New England his principal owner of the *Adventure* galley, since his men would not be persuaded to go for England, and arrived in the said sloop at Boston the first of July instant. The said William Kidd before me did declare that neither himself, John Ware, his master, Hugh Parrot, gunner, Michael Galloway, boatswain, Samuel Ayers, Abel Owers, Humphrey Clay, Martin Shrink, Gabriel Lane, William Whitty, Samuel Bradley, English Smith, Richard Barleycorne, William Jenkins, Robert Lamley, John Arris, Richard Wood, a negro, nor any of them, have or hath at any time or times, or by any ways or means, acted contrary to their commission in the aforesaid voyage, but that whatsoever losses or damages have happened

to the said *Adventure* galley or owners thereof, or whatsoever other irregularities or inconveniences have been committed on any other account, have been occasioned only by the mutiny, desertion, and incorrigible violence of the said ninety-seven men WHEREOF I the said notary at the instance and on the behalf of the said William Kidd, John Ware, etc., did and hereby do solemnly protest against the said ninety-seven deserters of the galley as the cause and only cause and reason of all the losses, damages, vexations, and inconveniences that have happened to the galley or owners thereof and of any other irregularities that have been acted and done in all or any part of the said voyage. This was done and protested in Boston aforesaid on the 8th of July, '99, in presenee of Hugh Parrot, gunner, and Samuel Ayres, a sailor, belonging to the said vessel, witnesses hereunto called who affirmed the truth of the premises. J.P.

[*A similar narrative by Kidd is in B.T. New England, 9.*]

## PETITIONS, etc.

Mayor, corporation, and principal inhabitants, of LUDLOW.

1691. Petition to the King and Queen setting forth that, until 1683, the town was governed by a common council of two bailiffs elected out of twelve aldermen and twenty-five common councilmen, nineteen forming a Quorum. A *Quo warranto* then issued against them: their charter was surrendered and a new charter was granted, turning the town government into a mayor, elected as above. On 26 December last, although twenty nine of the old chamber were then resident and there ought to be nineteen at least to make a Chamber, six only took upon them riotously to break open the Town House, where the Chamber meets, upon pretence of restoring the old government; for which they stand indicted by a grand jury. Next day, six more joining, they took upon them to dispose of the offices and places of the town, excluded the bailiffs and some of the petitioners, members of the old chamber, and other legal officers, and filled the vacant places with their own friends, some of them mean and scandalous persons. They have applied for a new charter and to be named the principal magistrates and officers of the town: have sought to bring petitioners under their Majestys' displeasure by certifying that three of them refused to take the oath of allegiance, when they have taken it, and have privately taken money to connive at professed papists inhabiting the town and excuse them the oath: and praying to be heard before the council.

Signed by Sam Jordan and twenty-six others.

*Minuted* at the Court at Whitehall, 3 September, 1691. On reading the petition of the Mayor, etc., of Ludlow praying to be heard to the complaint of some of the justices of the peace of the town made 2 July last, It was ordered that the complainants, namely Francis Lloyd, Edward Johnson, Thomas Powis, and Thomas Lea, and the petitioners be heard on 1 October.

Copy of the above petition, *minuted* to be heard on 8 October.

Petition of Powis, Lea, and Robinson, setting forth that they cannot attend at such short notice and praying that the hearing be postponed.

JOHN COLBACH and E. SMALMAN to ROBERT HARLEY.

1691. September 17. Ludlow. The enclosed was intended to be sent by the last post but was not ready: it is by the advice of Sir John Sommers. They desire Harley to get the hearing of the enclosed petition postponed as long as he can. Any fees paid by him to the clerks of the council or officers there will be truly repaid. If the petition be granted, it is desired he will let them know: if not, they will come up against the appointed day. They are thankful for his great care to this Corporation.



P.S.—They have sent copy of the petition and order with which the justices are served: they can prove every sentence of the petition to be false.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received Sept. 23. Answered 24.

*Addressed to Robert Harley, Esq., M.P., at his house in King Street, near to Bloomsbury, London.*

#### The Case of the TOWN CLERK of LUDLOW.

Richard Perks, gentleman.	} Candidates.
Benjamin Harver, gentleman.	

Extraet of eharter of Charles II. reciting that heneeforth all persons elected to offees must be approved by the King. *Latin.*

*Note.* Till this eharter election by the voters was sufficient without royal approbation: the election still remains in the people and the Crown has only a negative voiee.

Perkes on 4 November last was duly elected by 20 against 10 votes and reecomended for the royal approbation.

*Caveats* being entered but no reason assigned he is obliged to petition. The other candidate has often said he would spend a considerable sum before petitioner should have it. Prays that the matter be referred to the Attorney General. Petitioner has the votes of Sir Franeis Charlton, Bart., Franeis Herbert, M.P., for the town and other loyal gentlemen. After long stay in Town and great expence to be rejected without examination would be of the utmost consequence to him.

#### LADY DOROTHY BURKE'S CASE.

[1697.] In her infaney she was taken from her relations by the late Queen Mary and by her bred a protestant, by reason whereof her father has disinherited her. To reecompende her for her loss, the queen allowed her 100*l.* a year and promised she should be provided for out of the forfeitures of her family who were then in rebellion or she would give her a suitable fortune. After the queen's death, she petitioned the king for a grant of such estates, as should be forfeited by the attainder of the family of Clanriard. He ordered a referenee to the Government of Ireland and an agent was sent by her to prosecute an inquisition whieh after great trouble and expence was taken at Galway, where several estates of the family were found to be in the King.

On return of the inquisition, the Lords Justiees of Ireland reported on 10 September, 1696 that she was the only ehild of the now Earl of Clanriard and the only protestant of her family, and a proper object for a grant of such part of the forfeited interests on the estate of William, late earl of Clanriard, as His Majesty shall please to bestow upon her. She is not only disinherited by her father, for being a protestant, of all that

part of the Clanricard estate not forfeited but is also left destitute of any provision out of the forfeitures of her family, although she has been at great trouble and expence to find the King's title to the same.

The Commissioners empowered by act of parliament to enquire of forfeited estates in Ireland have reported that the house of Clanricard have a considerable estate within the province of Connaught, with few or no protestants thereon, the greatest part whereof by the attainder of Lord Bophin, her unele (who is only tenant for life) is now vested in His Majesty, and they conceive that, if proper methods were taken for setting the estate to protestant tenants by leases for lives renewable for ever, it would increase the freeholders and thereby secure the property and advance the protestant interest of the province.

It is therefore humbly proposed that a clause may be brought in to enable the trustees, in whom this honorable house shall think proper to vest the forfeited estates in Ireland, to make leases to such protestants as shall be nominated by the said Lady Dorothy Burke, under the ancient rents, and she may have the fines arising thereby, which will be no disadvantage to the public because thereby protestants may become tenants to the said estates and the full yearly value ever yielded by the estates will be still reserved payable to such uses as the act of parliament shall think proper to apply.

[1698 ?] SERVANTS belonging to the CASTLE and FOREST of WINDSOR. Petition to the King complaining that immemorial fees, etc., granted to them by letters patent, amounting 400*l.* a year, have been withdrawn by his receiver since Michaelmas 1697, on the ground that the whole revenue is lately sold or granted out of the Crown, notwithstanding the acts of 32 Henry VIII., stat. 8, and of 22 Charles II. for the sale of the Fee Farm Rents, and praying for an enquiry.

*Minuted.* Referred to the Lords of the Treasury and by them to Mr. Attorney General to report facts, with his opinion.

A. Mr. Ball, surveyor.

B. Sir Christopher Wren, controller.

[*Calendar of Treasury Papers, vol. lxxv, No. 66.*]

SAMUEL JOHNSON, clerk to PARLIAMENT. Having been a great sufferer in the late reigns for endeavouring to serve his country, his Majesty has been pleased to grant him a pension of 300*l.* a year out of the profits of the Post Office. There is now a bill before the House entituled a Bill for vacating all grants from the Crown of estates and other interests in England and Ireland since 13 February, 1688. Prays that he may be excepted in that Bill. [1698 ?]

## The Case of N.N.

1698. The said N.N. did on or about 7 February, 1688, with others convoy himself beyond seas to France and thence to Ireland, where he landed on 1 May, 1689. There served a gentleman till Michaelmas when, the latter's moneys growing short, he was there (in a strange country) turned off. Want obliged him to take up arms on the part of King James. At the breach of the Boyne he was taken prisoner and so continued until ransomed or exchanged into France. Unwilling to serve the French King, he got aboard an English ship there, a prize in Dunkirk, but afterwards bought and thence bound to Sweden; the master whereof considering the approach of winter (it being about the middle of September, 1691) did desist his intended voyage and sailed to Newcastle. The first day he came to Town, N.N. went and acquainted a member of parliament and justice of the peace, who was his neighbour in the country, of his arrival in England and where and what he had been; desiring that, if he lived conformable to the government he might be undisturbed. When he came into the country he did likewise surrender himself to another justice of the peace there and at present a member of the House of Commons; who, after examination dismissed him with the wholesome advice of not intermeddling with the Government, which he punctually followed. Now, living far in the country and remote from any market town, on the 4th of this instant February, he heard of a proclamation commanding all persons in his circumstances to avoid the kingdom by 1 February, which being impossible for him to do . . . . *Unfinished.*

*Docketed* case of John Eales. Feb. 15, 1697-8.

The Case of NATHANIEL MOLYNEUX, sometime receiver of taxes in Lancashire and Cheshire.

1701. Proposal for a composition in respect of his debt to the Crown.

[*Calendar of Treasury Papers, Vol. lxxvii, No. 42.*]

MAXIMILIAN STEPHENS to the LORDS of the TREASURY.

Was an agent in the late reign for bringing in of taxes; and having been very instrumental in advancing the duties on houses by discovering and removing all officers, quitting his habitation in the country and all business, the better to enable himself for the service, and but three years in the agent's office (the first without salary) and of that time almost twelve months in Cheshire, Wales, etc., where he did many remarkable services: prays that, if he may not be admitted into the agent's office again he may have other emolument. [1703.]

*Encl.* Statement of produce of the duties for Shropshire and Staffordshire at the time he was sent to examine Mr. Whitley's accounts.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received from Mr. Bateman, Dr. Snape.



CAPTAIN DENIS BRENNAN, to the QUEEN. Has served the Crown 37 years at home and abroad, in which service he has lost the use of all his limbs so that he can hardly dress himself, nor cut his meat ; both his legs are in a manner but artificial, as the world may plainly see. Has lain 'bedrid' for three years, together with his wounds, and could not stir hand nor foot until brought out of Holland to the Bath. At the beginning of the late revolution here in England, he was reduced from a crown a day pension to 12d. a day as an out pensioner of Chelsea Hospital, being not half bread enough to maintain his wife and children, who are in a starving condition. His case and sufferings cannot be paralleled in all Her Majesty's Dominions and he implores her that one year be paid of the two years owing to him of his small allowance of 12d. a day since her happy coming to the throne. [1705.]

#### ACT OF UNION.

[1706.] Portions of a memorial [? of De Foe] giving reasons for the necessity of the Union of England and Scotland. 6 pp.

#### Petitions, Memorials, &c., to HARLEY.

J.B. About eighteen months since some of the inhabitants of South Shields represented to the Postmasters General it would be an advantage to the trade of that place to have the post altered by sending their letters from Durham to South Shields and not by way of Newcastle. This being referred to J.B., he reported that the change would be of no advantage to the trade of the place, and the post was continued in the same course. At the general quarter sessions of the place for the county of Durham, at Michaelmas last, a few inhabitants of South Shields, attending (as he conceives) upon settling the price of salt, moved the justices to repeat their representations to the Postmasters General. A copy of this representation being sent to him he for answer referred to what he wrote before, adding that the matter was set on foot again by the same persons as petitioned before, out of regard for themselves and not to the public interest. He requested that, if they complied with what was desired, the carrying of such letters from Durham to South Shields might be put upon him, the Postmasters General to gratify the people and avoid taking anything from him that he had enjoyed since the revolution directed as desired and he, at unnecessary expence, has continued since February last to carry the letters from Durham to South Shields.

An account kept at the General Post Office of such letters shews that the convenience of trade could not be the foundation of such a representation but a design to serve the postmaster of Durham by taking from petitioner part of his farm which he has enjoyed upwards of eighteen years, from which hardship he humbly prays to be secure through Harley's mediation with the Postmasters General. [1706.]

J. WARBURTON Having been days, weeks, months in custody and his affairs not yet determined, implores Harley's further advice and assistance. [1706.] *Seal.*

CAPTAIN HOWARTH, of Colonel Townshend's Regiment. Having had leave of the Lieutenant Governor of Portsmouth to absent himself for some time from that garrison for settling his own private affairs the same were found so perplexed as to take him up a longer term than might be intended him and so have occasioned complaint of him to Mr. St. John that may turn to his prejudice without the interposition of Mr. Secretary Harley, which he most humbly implores.

*Docketed by Harley.* Received September 7, 1707.

W. BRENNAND. Prays his care in widow Pownel's affair, having left the papers in the hands of Harley's secretary but wanting an opportunity to speak with him from Sir Charles Haughton. If he goes alone to Windsor, would be glad to attend him thither. Saturday morning. [1707.]

*Docketed.* About Mrs. Pownell's pass.

[S. CLEMENT.] Memorial. The liberty given last year to some merchants to withdraw their effects from the Canaries having by ill management given great offence, it is become more difficult for others to ask the like favour. However as the Spanish merchants were necessitated at their coming away to leave behind them considerable effects in Cadiz and Malaga which lie in great danger of being lost by the death or insolvency of their debtors, whereof they may recover good part if they could obtain leave to receive the same in the fruits of the country it is hoped their request therein may merit consideration, if the same may be brought home in a way less subject to observation than the transaction from the Canaries, which is humbly proposed as follows:—that leave may be given to redeem an English prize ship in France, take (as is usual) the French King's pass for the voyage, and navigate her under colour of a Danish ship but have half the mariners Danish and half English whereby she will be qualified to return as an English ship by virtue of a clause in an Act of Parliament passed last session. Thus she may proceed as a Dane to Cadiz, take in her loading and so bring it into some part of Portugal from whence it might be imported into Portugal as has been frequently practised since this war with Spain. But a licensee must also be desired for a person of known integrity to the Government to go into France and Spain for management of this affair because the merchants dare not correspond with letters for fear of their being intercepted, whereby the government in Spain might discover in what hands their effects lay and seize them. [1707.]

J.S. Presumes to present these proposals concerning a private man of war.

*Inprimis.* If a ship be taken, what is out of the hold is free booty to the seamen.

Secondly. The ‘cargazone’ of the ship or ships is divided into three parts, called thirds. The first part, or one third, to the owner for the ship’s wear and tear.

The second, to the victualling, powder, shot, etc. The third and last to be divided among the ship’s company in their equal proportions.

#### As Concerning Merchantmen.

The custom of the seas is the factor hath either monthly salary or ten in the hundred, &c. [1707.]

*Harley’s endorsement.* Note concerning ships of war.

#### SIR WILLIAM HODGES to Secretary HARLEY.

[1707.] Is informed that Don Francisco Briones the Spanish gentleman come from the Canaries (and brother to Don Louis Briones mentioned in the writer’s letter last night) hath had a difference with the Captain General of the Canaries, and fearing of being imprisoned did embark privately on a Genoese ship bound for England in order to get into Spain, in a Portugal or otherwise, and capitulate [to] the Captain General. And he not being any military officer, soldier, nor seaman, its the humble opinion of Sir W. H. that his being set at liberty cannot be any ways prejudicial to Her Majesty’s service ; but on the contrary it may be an ease to and facilitate the liberty of some of her subjects in the dominions of Spain. He is recommended to one Mr. Cross who hath lived as a merchant in Canaries and lodgeth at Mr. Kettle’s a packer in Great St. Helens, who no doubt can give a more particular account of this gentleman.





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The object of the Commission being the discovery of unpublished historical and literary materials, attention is directed to that object exclusively, and owners of manuscripts need be under no apprehension that the examination of papers by the Commission may mean in any way a prying into private affairs. Positive directions are given by the Commissioners to every person who inspects manuscripts on their behalf that nothing that affects the titles of existing owners is to be divulged, and that, if in the course of his work any modern title-deeds or papers of a private nature chance to come before him, he is to put them aside at once without examination or note.

To emphasize more strongly the confidential nature of his task, every person employed by the Commission to inspect a collection of documents

is required to consider it a condition of his employment that all notes made by him in the course of such employment are to be regarded as the property of the Commission, and that he is not at liberty to use in any way any information obtained from papers submitted to the Commissioners without their permission: this is never given without the express consent of the owners of the papers.

In practice it has been found expedient, in dealing with a large collection of manuscripts, for the inspector to make a selection therefrom and to obtain the owner's consent to the removal of the selected papers for a time to the Public Record Office in London or in Dublin, or to the General Register House in Edinburgh, where they can be dealt with more easily, and where they are treated with the same care as the muniments of the realm, whose place of deposit they temporarily share.

The whole cost of inspections, reports, and calendars, and the conveyance of documents is defrayed at the public expense.

Among the numerous owners of valuable documents who have given their sanction to the temporary removal of manuscripts by the Commission may be named:—His Majesty the King, the Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis of Ormonde, the Marquis Townshend, the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Dartmouth, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Egmont, Lord Kenyon, Lord Sackville, Mrs. Stopford Sackville, Sir George Wombwell, Mr. le Fleming, of Rydal, Mr. Fortescue, of Dropmore, and Mr. Rawdon Hastings, of Ashby de la Zouche.

The work of the Commissioners, with the liberal-minded co-operation of many owners of manuscripts, has resulted so far in the publication of nearly a hundred and fifty volumes of previously unprinted historical materials.

The Commissioners also regard it as part of their duty to be ready to give advice as to the housing and keeping of valuable papers, and the repair of any that may be in a state of decay.

A. E. STAMP,

*Secretary.*

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